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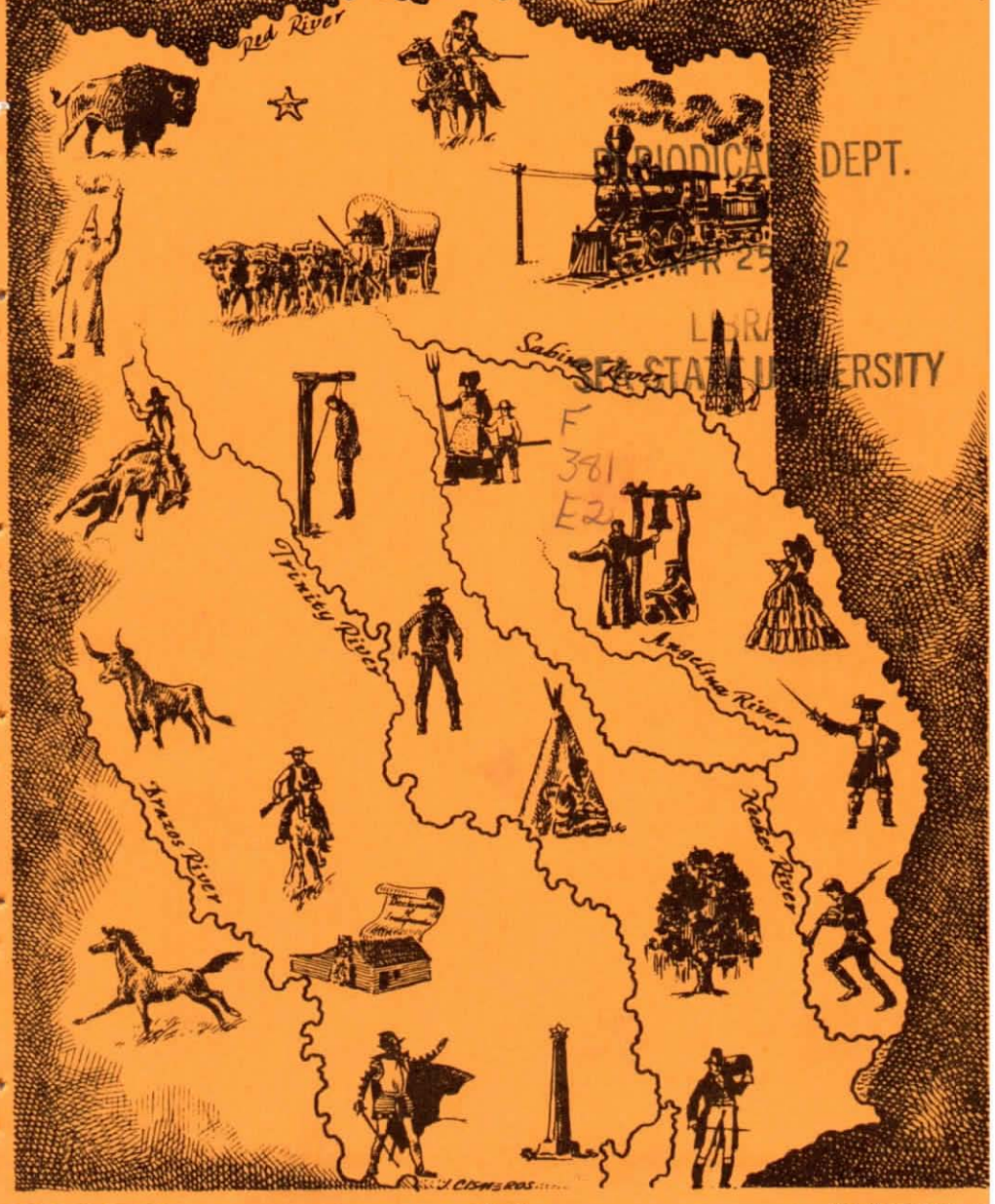

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Archie P. McDonald, Editor

BOOK REVIEWS

C. K. CHAMBERLAIN: HISTORIAN, TEACHER, EDITOR

by Carl L. Davis

The retirement of Dr. C. K. Chamberlain from the faculty of Stephen F. Austin University and from the position of Editor-in-Chief of the *East Texas Historical Journal* was an occasion for pause and reflection among his many friends and associates who have known and worked with him over the years. I have known Dr. Chamberlain for a decade, and consider my association with him as my great good fortune.

I first met C. K. Chamberlain on a warm September day in the early 1960's, shortly after my appointment to the faculty of Stephen F. Austin College. He was not at all what I had expected of a senior professor and department head. I was in that stage of life which might be called "post-graduate school withdrawal" and was torn between fear of the slave driving senior professors and the desire to rise to a position where I could imitate them. I expected that Dr. Charles Kincheloe Chamberlain, Professor and Head of the Department of History and Political Science, would be a stern visaged, aloof man who wore his rank and office like a badge, and who condescendingly referred to a junior faculty member as "young man". Instead, I saw before me a smiling, pleasant man of slightly below medium height who introduced himself as Dick Chamberlain. That day we had a long conversation in which he proved both helpful and considerate. It took me only five minutes to know that he was a man whom I could like; and less than five more minutes to know that he was a man whom I could respect. Over the years my affection and admiration for him has grown. I am, however, only one of legions who feel the same way.

Dick Chamberlain is a man who lives a full life. He is honored by his students, colleagues, friends and associates. A man of seeming boundless energy, he enthusiastically serves his students, his university, his community and his church with all his many and varied talents.

C. K. Chamberlain was born September 3, 1900, in Burnet, Texas, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Burkett Barton Chamberlain, a farming and ranching family. After graduating from Kateway High School, he attended Howard Payne College and West Texas State College, receiving his degree from the latter institution in 1926. He began his teaching career in public education as principal of the Knox City High School in 1921. He continued his education and received his Masters of Arts degree from the University of Texas in 1928.

Dr. Chamberlain and his new bride, the former Ruth Britt, began their long association with the East Texas area in 1928 when he accepted a position as a history teacher in the Nacogdoches high school. They had one son, the late Major Ken Burkett Chamberlain, U.S.A.F. While in the Nacogdoches school system Dr. Chamberlain served not only as a teacher, but as principal of the high school for sixteen years and as

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superintendent of the public school system during World War II.

C. K. Chamberlain joined the History and Political Science Department at Stephen F. Austin State University in 1946. He completed his Doctor in Philosophy degree at the University of Texas in January of 1957, and became chairman of the department in August of that year. When he came to that post, the department had but seven members and a limited number of courses. The growth of the department was rapid, and the number of courses and the quality of the instruction increased greatly during his tenure. In 1965 the department was divided and Dr. Chamberlain retained his chairmanship of the History Department. His faculty was both competant and cooperative. He hired without prejudice; and at a time when many were still reluctant to offer positions to women Dr. Chamberlain actively encouraged them to join our faculty. Despite predictions of dire disaster and some feeling that Dick Chamberlain's toleration was finally going to get him into trouble, no such disaster developed. The members of the department now fully agree, and feel that the presence of women on the staff added balance and strength to the department. When Dr. Chamberlain stepped down from the chairmanship in 1969, his department numbered twenty members, most of whom held the Doctor of Philosophy degree. His building of the history department was a remarkable achievement.

After passing on the burden of the chairmanship to Professor Robert S. Maxwell, Dr. Chamberlain continued, as he always had, teaching and advising his students--rejoicing with them in their good fortune, consoling them in their great and small tragedies just as he did with their parents and grandparents a generation or two ago. As both teacher and man, no one is more genuinely liked or held in higher regard by both the students and faculty on the University campus. Quoting a 1957 newspaper article: "A favorite among all SFA students and faculty, Dr. Chamberlain had been elected 'favorite teacher' in the Austinite poll for several years." He has won that award a number of times since.

He devoted himself to every activity to help encourage the students of the University. He sponsored many organizations, among them Theta Chi, Phi Alpha Theta, Alpha Phi Omega, the Board of Directors of the College Center, the House Council, the Young Democrats, and the Cheerleaders. He has probably served on every standing college and university committee ever formed on his campus. He has done particularly outstanding work on the Graduate Studies Committee, Liberal Arts Curriculum Committee, the University Curriculum Committee and the Faculty Advisory Council.

With all of his various activities at the University, teaching was still his first love. Even in his last year of teaching, he continued to revise and rewrite his lectures for his students' benefit. His classroom technique was often informal. He was a master of class discussion, but he always attempted to avoid enbarrassment of his students, and had rapport with his students like no one I have ever known. His students worked for him because they were inspired to work, and because they did not wish to disappoint him by failing to do so. In all of the courses he taught he prepared them with thoroughness and diligence, and his students never felt short changed. Yet with all of his knowledge and skill in the classroom, he was always honest, both professionally and personally with his students. If he did not know an answer to a student's question he was quick to admit it and to tell the student that he would try to find it before the next meeting of the class.

With a wide variety of teaching and scholarly interests, including Texas and Southwestern history, Eastern Europe and the Far East, Dr. Chamberlain was professionally active off the campus as well as on. He is a member of a number of professional organizations including the following: Atlantic Council of the United States, Council of Foreign Relations, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Organization of American Historians, Southern Historical Association, Southwestern Social Science Association, Texas Historical Association, and the East Texas Historical Association. In addition he has held, at one time or another, offices or

important committee posts in every one of these organizations. He attends a number of meetings of these associations each year, and has acted as chairman of numerous sessions at the Southwestern Social Science Association, the Southern Historical Association, the Texas Historical Association and the East Texas Historical Association. He has been chairman of the history session of the Southwestern Social Science Association and a member of its Board of Directors.

Dr. Chamberlain developed a complete set of visual aids for Texas history which he published with W. T. Chambers of the Geography Department of Stephen F. Austin State University, now retired. He has written a number of articles for the *Handbook of Texas* including "Stephen F. Austin State University" and "East Texas." He has published articles dealing with L. T. Barrett and the first oil well in East Texas, and the old East Texas Historical Association which went out of existence in the 1940's. In addition, he has numerous book reviews, and has recently completed his manuscript of a biography of Alexander Watkins Terrell.

Dr. Chamberlain has wide experience as an editor. He was Editor-in-Chief of the *East Texas Historical Journal*, for which he wrote the "East Texas" section for each issue. He has served as second editor of the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, and on the editorial boards of the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, the *Journal of Southern History* and the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*.

If C. K. Chamberlain ever stopped long enough to think of a personal motto–or if his modesty would permit–that motto would be "service." His role as an individual, and his role as an important member of a university faculty has been service. Limited space permits only a few examples. In 1957 he founded the East Texas Area Council for the Social Studies. He brought high school and grade school teachers to the SFA campus, and set up valuable seminars for their benefit. In 1962 he founded the history contest held on the campus to encourage high school seniors to investigate careers in the field. In 1963 he was one of the founders of the East Texas Historical Association, and became the first editor of its bi-annual journal. He held this post until his retirement in 1971, at which time the duties of that office were given to Dr. Archie P. McDonald of the History Department at Stephen F. Austin State University. Dr. Chamberlain believes that laymen and scholars should work together. The ETHA has shown that it can be done without friction. It has been an instructive experience of human relations.

In service to the community no one has given so completely and unselfishly. Dr. Chamberlain is an active member of the Chamber of Commerce and the Rotary Club, and is a past president of both organizations. He has been chairman of the Nacogdoches County Crippled Children and Adults Society. He never has failed to meet his quota. He is a sponsor of the Nacogdoches County Boy Scouts Association. He is a member of the committee on existing industry and the committee on new industry. He is an active conservationist. He has worked constantly to improve communications and relations between the town and the University.

Dick Chamberlain started in the 1930's trying to better the lot of the Negroes and Latin Americans who live in this area. He was able to provide some industrial and athletic equipment to the then separate Negro high school, even though it was not popular to do so at the time. He worked for the improvement of the water and sanitation systems of the minority areas and encouraged the minorities to vote. It was a small beginning, but it was a beginning. He has advised the bi-racial Community Relations Council and the Voters' League. He has been active in supporting the Head Start Programs and the child day care centers. What others learned in the 1960's about the need to support human dignity Dick Chamberlain was practicing forty years ago–long before it became fashionable. His views are so respected in the community that he can say, in his own quiet way, the things for which others would be condemned. His long, diligent work for the community has earned him the right to be heard; and the

entire community is better for it.

Dr. Chamberlain is active in the Methodist Church. He is a member of the Board of Stewards, Chairman of the Church Commission, member of the Committee for Social Concern and the teacher of the adult Sunday school class.

In politics Dr. Chamberlain served as County Democratic Chairman from 1958-1960. He won the post again in 1966, 1968, and 1970. He feels that his job is to see that all candidates get a fair hearing, and he organized county-wide meetings to allow them to express their views on the issues. He feels that the public is entitled to an honest election and a fair count. All Democrats, whether very liberal, very conservative or any position in between, trust him implicitely. He has never violated their trust.

Dr. Chamberlain is a popular speaker, and seldom refuses an invitation. He has spoken many times to every service club in the city, to most of the clubs in the county, and to many of the service organizations in the East Texas area.

With all his popularity, he has not sought any course of action because it was popular. He tries to do what is right and what his conscience tells him should be done. He speaks and acts honestly, and he is respected for it. Many have disagreed with him over the years, but no one has ever questioned his motives or doubted his integrity.

Dr. Chamberlain has received many honors. He is a charter national member of Phi Alpha Theta, the honorary history fraternity. He has been elected to important posts in every organization of which he is a member, whether academic, social or political. He has received the Silver Beaver award from the Boy Scouts of America. He has been chosen a delegate to the state Democratic convention for so many times that no one can remember when he did not hold the post. He has many times been a state Democratic committeeman; and he is always his own voting precinct's chairman when not serving as county chairman.

On campus he has been "favorite teacher," marshall of the homecoming parade and president of the men's faculty club. In 1971 he received the coveted Minnie Stevens Piper Award, an honor given to very few Texans in the field of higher education. But the honors which I believe he most cherishes are the little ones given him by his students and former students when they drop in to chat with him. I walked into his office several months ago and found there General Kenneth Kennedy, Commander of the United States Army Engineers in Europe, who had driven out of his way to talk with a well remembered man who had once taught him history. General Kennedy recalled that he had been number one in history in his graduating class at West Point, and he believed much of the credit for that belonged to Dr. Chamberlain. This is only one example, but there are many others in which students of past years write and visit him. He is a man they wish to remember--a man whom they cannot forget.

It is impossible to recount all of the work Dr. Chamberlain has done, or all of the rewards he has received in over half a century of service in education and in the community. Nor is that service at an end. His retirement from the faculty at Stephen F. Austin and from the editorship of the *East Texas Historical Journal* does not bring his contributions to a close. He is active in all of the organizations of which he is a member; and he is constantly taking on new tasks. In addition to his usual activities, he is an advisor on the Trinity River Project, and he is Supervisor of Adult Education for Angelina, Nacogdoches, San Augustine, and Shelby counties.

Those of us who have the honor to be associated with Dr. Chamberlain can only consider themselves fortunate. He is a Christian gentleman of the old school. We need more such men.

THE ARMY AND THE NEGRO DURING TEXAS RECONSTRUCTION, 1865-1870

by William L. Richter

The primary issue of Reconstruction was the Negro and his relationship to the white majority in American society. The Civil War had begun over secession and culminated in freedom for the slaves. Reconstruction promised a revolution in the entire social structure of American society. It was over the issue of equality that the South drew the final battle line–and won because the North lacked the commitment necessary to force the issue to a successful end.[1] The history of the Negro in Texas after the Civil War provides a graphic illustration of this point.

During the Civil War, Texas had remained pleasantly remote from the horrors of the battlefields. There were few engagements, no massive cavalry raids, and good crop conditions. Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana, however, did not fare so well, and when the Yankees invaded these states, their slaveholders saw Texas as a haven from the ravages of war. Slowly at first, then in droves, the residents of the Trans-Mississippi area sent their bondsmen to Texas for safekeeping. There were 275,000 slaves in Texas in 1861. By 1865 the black population had risen to 400,000.[2]

To solve the problems brought on by the end of the war and emancipation, Congress set up the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. This agency, more commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau, was established on March 3, 1865 to last for the duration of the war and one year thereafter.[3] Even though it was theoretically separate from the Army, its commissioner was Major General Oliver Otis Howard, and many sub-assistant commissioners of the Bureau were Army officers. In Texas, if a post area had no Freedmen's Bureau representative, the commanding officer of the nearest Army detachment automatically assumed those duties in addition to his troop assignment.[4]

The Freedmen's Bureau in Texas was headed by five men,[5] and all of them were conservative in action, if not words, in their approach to the Bureau's responsibilities.[6] The most controversial head of the Texas Bureau was its first assistant commissioner, Major General Edgar M. Gregory. Howard appointed him to the Texas position because he was fearless, and Howard felt that Texas was a post of great peril. Gregory was the only one of the state commissioners who was a radical abolitionist, a fact which did not endear him to the white population of the state.[7]

Gregory had conflicting ideas about the character of the ex-slaves. He felt they were respectable people with an unquestionable right to social and political equality. They were also docile and patient, thought the assistant commissioner, "strongly impressed with religious sentiment, and their morals are equal if not superior to those of a majority of the better informed and educated" in Texas. At the same time, however, the general felt that he personally was superior to any black. Gregory saw as his prime task the establishment of a free labor system and he made an extensive tour of the former slaveholding areas of Texas to speak to whites and blacks. He encouraged the Negroes to stay at home and work and to sign labor contracts as well as to work for a share of the crop or wages. On his speaking tour, Gregory passed out printed copies of "acceptable" contracts to serve as guides for the planters and fieldhands during labor negotiations. Above all, he attempted to still the persistent rumor that the freedmen would receive forty acres and a mule at Christmas.[8]

Although Gregory did little more than encourage the Negro to stay at home, sign a contract, and work for his former master, his reports to Washington and his assertions that the blacks were equal, if not superior, to the Texas whites caused him immediate trouble. Gregory was also unpopular because he increased Army patrols in plantation areas and enforced contract terms at the point of a bayonet. In short, he was much too conscientious, and complaints of his conduct flooded military headquarters in Galveston,

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New Orleans, and Washington. Howard asked for an investigation to be undertaken by General Wright, commander of the District of Texas. Wright remarked that Gregory was a good officer who worked hard at his job, but he felt there was no denying that the assistant commissioner was a highly unpopular man and that someone with more tact might fare better in the position. Shortly thereafter, David G. Burnet, an important pre-war Texas politician, accused Gregory of fomenting racial unrest with his anti-white speeches and of being too inclined to accept the freedman's side of a controversy. Burnet's accusations reached President Andrew Johnson who referred them to Howard. The commissioner of the Bureau personally never doubted Gregory's integrity, but he succumbed to the political pressures brought against him and promoted Gregory to an inspector general's position, thus removing him from Texas. Gregory's greatest sin was trying to make the ex-slave free in fact, not just on paper. The joy of Texans at his removal can be seen in the one sentence comment which appeared in the conservative Galveston *Daily News:* "Gen. Gregory left yesterday for New Orleans!"[9]

Gregory's replacement was Brigadier General Joseph B. Kiddoo. Like his predecessor, Kiddoo was a civilian who had joined the Army in 1861 and advanced to the rank of general. He had received a severe spinal injury during the war which sometimes affected his ability to handle the rigors of his job. The new assistant commissioner concentrated his efforts on Negro education. He felt that the Negro needed an education to better prepare him for his new life of freedom. Black education was spasmodic at first, but Kiddoo formalized and expanded the school system. He absorbed various missionary association teachers into the Bureau structure and arranged for both the churches and the government to pay them. In this manner, he hoped to attract good personnel with higher salaries. Kiddoo established a black normal school at Galveston and began a program to educate the colored troops along the Rio Grande. The general wanted those soldiers to stay in Texas and teach after their muster-out. Kiddoo also abolished Gregory's tuition plan and set up free schools.[10]

Kiddoo's desire to educate the blacks met severe opposition in the state. Texans resented the evangelical fervor of the Yankee teachers who felt that they were God's chosen instruments to "save" the South. Texans claimed that the Negroes were too sub-human to be educated successfully and resented the Yankees proving them wrong. The whites also believed that those who taught Negroes placed themselves on a social level with their students. The state newspapers ridiculed the blacks' ignorance and attempted to show the freedmen to be no more than uneducable children. At the same time, schools were burned out, teachers threatened, and students intimidated. One woman in Houston reportedly said that she would sooner put a bullet in a Negro than see him educated.[11]

In spite of the obstacles, Lieutenant E. M. Wheelock, the Bureau's superintendent of education, reported that one hundred-eighty schools had been established in the state with 4,400 students. When he turned the schools over to the Reverent Joseph Welch in 1867, Wheelock was pleased with the results and estimated that 10,000 Negroes had learned to read and write. As the educators persisted, white Texans began to support the the black schools cautiously for the first time. By June 30, 1870, when the Freedman's Bureau withdrew from the state, the schools remained its only successful program.[12]

Kiddoo, however, did not last as long as his schools. He suffered from uncooperative civil authorities who resented his unwillingness to condone the Black Codes. Major General Samuel P. Heintzelman, commander of the District of Texas, sided with the state government and removed several of Kiddoo's staff officers, thus severely limiting the Bureau's effectiveness. Finally the Bureau was being placed under more direct control by the Army. This entailed joining together the office of district commander and assistant commissioner. When this was done, Kiddoo resigned rather than be subordinate to the regular chain of command. "Gen. Kiddoo had managed the Bureau rather

satisfactorily," commented the Galveston *Daily News* when the general left the state, "which we think is more than can be said of any other of the heads of the Bureau."[13]

The next assistant commissioner was the new commander of the Department of Texas, Major General Charles Griffin. Griffin's chief contribution to the work of the Bureau was the extension of its tentacles of control into every corner of the vast state. At the same time, however, he abolished free schools and reintroduced a tuition system which severely curtailed attendance. The expansion of the Bureau was also hindered by the focus of attention in Texas on the political demands placed on the South by Congress. The passage of the Reconstruction Acts and the consolidation of the offices of the army district commander and the assistant commissioner into one position caused the Bureau post to lose its identity in the mass of problems involving voter registration, law and order, and black representation on juries. The job was really too much to expect of one man and Griffin and his successor, General Reynolds, tended to ignore Bureau duties to concentrate on the military aspect of the job. The situation deteriorated even further when the officer in charge of the Fifth Military District (Louisiana and Texas), Major General Winfield Scott Hancock, prohibited Bureau authorities from interfering with civil courts, and separated local troop units from Bureau control. With the readmission of Louisiana into the Union in 1868, Reynolds was forced to assume command of the Fifth Military District in addition to his other duties–one more burden that cost the Bureau his attention. On December 31, 1868, all functions of the Freedmen's Bureau except education were ended in Texas. Four months later, Howard notified the general that the position of assistant commissioner in Texas had been discontinued.[14]

If the assistant commissioners were relatively conservative, other factors must explain the condemnation the Bureau received in Texas. Part of the answer lay in the fact that the overburdened commissioners relied heavily on local agents to formulate and carry out policy. Texas had sixty-eight sub-assistant commissioners--more than any other state. Even so, because the state was so large, the efforts of these men to regulate labor were likened to "tickling a rhinoceros with a straw." Although there were many kinds of agents, southern whites accused all of them of dishonesty and mismanagement. Given the circumstances under which they had to work, the local agents found it an almost impossible task to maintain impartiality between the races.[15]

The catalogue of complaints against the sub-assistant commissioners was lengthy. "We have borne patiently and silently for some time, the arrogant assumption of arbitrary power by the Freedmen's Bureau," wrote a Galveston editor, "until we can no longer hold our peace . . . ." The editor was upset about the arrest of a white man because he had orally condemned the Bureau to the devil. The citizen had had a quarrel with a Negro over the possession of a turkey. The black obtained a Bureau order giving him the turkey but the white man refused to comply. This type of encounter and the Bureau's willingness to arrest any white over a seemingly trivial matter was a typical complaint. In Tyler a white man claimed a Negro had intentionally pushed his "big fat wife" against a white woman causing her to fall down on the sidewalk. When the white man seized and hit the Negro, the Freedmen's Bureau agent had him arrested for assault. To Texans who were used to settling personal affronts without troubling the law, this was tyranny.[16]

In another case William Burton of Houston testified that he had been confined indefinitely without bail after having been tried for the murder of three freedmen. He asked that the legal process be completed or that he be released on parole. In other cases, Bureau agents were accused of shielding blacks from civil courts; the agent in Bosque County released a Negro charged with rape even though his decision was based on hearsay evidence; the same agent threatened the county sheriff with military arrest when he protested the release; a black indicted for assault in Matagorda County was released in

a similar manner; and the Grimes County sheriff was denied permission to extradite a prisoner who had escaped to the Freedmen's Bureau headquarters in nearby Harris County. While there may have been extenuating circumstances, the white citizens saw the Bureau as a biased force which prevented justice.[17]

There were numerous protests against the Bureau's interference with private property. John Corbett of Galveston indignantly wrote Governor A. J. Hamilton that the "so-called Freedmen's Bureau" had seized some land he had bought in 1859 from a free woman of color. The woman told the Bureau that Corbett had expropriated the property, but Corbett insisted that he paid $2,800 for it and that her lawyer had drawn up the agreement. From Corpus Christi came a letter from Mrs. Margaret E. Love asking for a relief from the Army for $2,500 worth of her property which had been seized by the Bureau. Other seizure complaints and an accusation that a sub-assistant commissioner suspended a court order relative to the will of the estate of a Robertson County man were received. It is possible some of this property may have been confiscated from Unionists during the war and sold by the Confederate government. In such cases the Freedmen's Bureau was assigned the task of recovering the loss.[18]

Many complaints against the Bureau concerned its courts which had been organized by General Kiddoo although they had operated sporadically prior to this time. According to the rules, the courts had jurisdiction only in cases involving Negroes or in those in which the civil court system was deemed untrustworthy or prejudiced against black testimony. The courts ruled in favor of blacks in certain areas and whites in others, depending on local circumstances. One historian finds that out of 286 cases heard in fifteen Bureau courts, 194 were settled in favor of Negroes and ninety-two in favor of whites. General Griffin felt that the lack of uniform procedure in the Bureau courts resulted in valid criticism and therefore withdrew much of the authority of local agents to conduct trials. The process was further limited by General Hancock who transferred all cases involving legal questions to the civil courts in Louisiana and Texas. Hancock warned Bureau agents not to interfere with civil authorities in such instances. This meant the sub-assistant commissioners could seize property only if there was "clear and positive" evidence that the landholder had tried to cheat his laborers out of their wages and after the state authorities had refused to act.[19]

The Freedmen's Bureau and the civil government of Texas were at odds with each other throughout the Bureau's sojourn in the state. "While I am ready to acknowledge that many wanton wrongs are perpetrated upon black people," remonstrated the elected governor, James W. Throckmorton, to General Griffin, "yet I cannot but mention it is a singular fact that while it is notorious that the blacks themselves commit many wrongs and offer many provocations, still there is scarcely a mention of such occurrences . . . ." Throckmorton was glad the Freedmen's Bureau wanted justice for all men, but he decried the fact that the Bureau courts trusted black testimony alone and assumed the Negroes "are a guiltless, unoffending, and immaculate race." Throckmorton wanted the freedmen treated fairly; something he himself could not impress upon local civil officers despite the many letters he wrote asking that justice be done "every class of the people."[20]

The governor was also incensed at the lack of respect shown toward civil authorities by the Bureau agents. Whenever a sub-assistant commissioner was charged with a crime by local officials, the Army would protect him from prosecution. Undoubtedly many of the charges were false, but even obvious cases of criminal activity were shielded from state action. In desperation the governor once wrote Griffin and implored that the "negro or officer in charge" be directed to deliver the Bureau agent of Wharton County to a local court. When an Army officer in Seguin was indicted, the Bureau agent, also an Army officer, seized and burned the court records to prevent a trial. At Victoria, Negroes on their way to the state prison were taken from a peace officer by a Bureau

agent who said that they had been convicted on insufficient evidence.[21]

Texans felt the Freedmen's Bureau to be biased not only in its legal proceedings but also in its tampering with politics. General Sheridan, for example, used the Bureau to set up voter registration districts, recommend people for positions as registrars, and distribute information on political rights to eligible voters. Freedmen's Bureau agents and Yankee school teachers were instrumental in organizing branches of the Union Loyal League, a Republican political front. While they may have had the purest of motives, white Texans felt the political instruction was designed to make the Negroes "soured, dissatisfied, and hostile" with the white population.[22]

Not all Freedmen's Bureau agents, however, were interested in forwarding the conditions of the black race. An officer of the Twelfth Illinois Cavalry reported that the agent at Livingston did little to assist Negroes in his district. He was a resident of the town and feared reprisals from his neighbors if he acted. The agent at Marshall, Lieutenant I. M. Beebe, was pleasantly surprised at the favorable reception he received–particularly because northeastern Texas was a graveyard for most Bureau agents who served there. Beebe's popularity probably hinged on the fact that he had prevented Negroes from leaving their old plantation quarters to wander along the roads. The sub-assistant commissioner at Centerville was understandably popular with the local citizens. He was courting an attractive widow who lived near town and helped her with disciplinary problems by tying up "runaways" by their thumbs.[23]

The Freedmen's Bureau also suffered because of the whites' attitudes and beliefs about the Negro. The whites were not only determined to keep the freedman in an inferior social and economic position, but they even had some reservations about freeing the slaves at all after the war. In June 1865 when Major General Gordon Granger arrived at Galveston to assume command of the District of Texas, he issued General Orders No. 3, which declared the slaves free by executive order of the President. Although the San Antonio *News* expected little opposition to Granger's order, General Gregory found it necessary to repeat its provisions in a new dictate which he published four months later as the first circular of the Freedman's Bureau. Gregory had good reason to reissue the freedom order since Texans looked upon emancipation as an unwise and arbitrary confiscation of private property. Planters vainly hoped that they would be compensated for the loss of their slaves or that the Supreme Court or the election of 1866 would overturn the Republicans' majority in Congress. In addition, there was a cotton crop to bring in that fall. For these reasons, the planters forced their ex-bondsmen to stay on the plantation as slaves in fact, if not in name. To achieve this end, the farmers liberally employed whipping and murder. Blacks who fled their old masters were hunted down with bloodhounds just as before the war. Negroes were still sold as slaves throughout 1865 and, until Union soldiers arrived in the area, slavery continued without interruption, especially east of the Trinity River.[24]

Those planters who had read Granger's freedom order to their Negroes introduced few changes in the plantation routine. Free Negro labor was seen as an experiment that would probably fail because the innate qualities of the blacks made them unfit for any other station in life. Texans believed their Negroes were childlike, inherently inferior, irresponsible, in need of discipline, and incapable of living as freedmen. Whites feared the only way the blacks could be elevated was through racial amalgamation, a disquieting thought to any "right-thinking" southerner. "Then the kinky hair, the mellow eye, the artistic nose, the seductive lips, the 'emotional heart,' the gambril shins, the hollowness of foot, the ebony skin and bewildering odor will be ours," moaned one editor, "all ours, ours, ours." The only alternative was to keep the Negroes "in their places."[25]

The actions of the blacks during the first six months of freedom made the whites more steadfast in their opinion of free Negro labor. In the same order that had freed the slaves, General Granger had warned the blacks against gathering "at military posts" and

informed them "that they will not be supported in idleness either there or elsewhere." Granger asked the freedmen to "remain quietly at their present homes and work for wages." The Negroes, however, had different ideas. They left the plantations and took to the roads, wandering aimlessly, congregating at Army camps and in cities. Some of those brought into Texas during the war set out for their old homes in Louisiana and Arkansas. Negroes with cruel masters took the opportunity to flee the lash. Black artisans moved to the cities to look for work. Others left for strange places to start a new life without the painful memories of a past bondage continually staring them in the face. For these people, it was easier to feel free if they were not obliged to habitually say "Mastah" and "Missus" each day, but most merely wished to test their freedom and to have the joyful experience of going where they pleased without restriction.[26]

Those Negroes who returned or stayed at home showed a great reluctance to sign labor contracts. They preferred to wait for the promised forty acres and a mule which they expected would be given at Christmas 1865. The Army did its best to discourage this expectation, but to no avail.[27] As Christmas approached, worried whites began to fear that disappointed freedmen might forcefully divide up their plantation when they discovered the forty acres were not forthcoming. To be prepared for any contingency, the planters organized a temporary police force.[28] The Negroes' idleness and reluctance to sign contracts had led the planters to concoct a scheme to introduce immigrants into the state to replace the black laborers. The Texas Land, Labor, and Immigration Company sent Thomas Affleck to Europe to induce settlers to come to the state. The project failed, however, because Europeans hesitated to come to the politically unstable South; moreover, the planters slowly became aware that Negro labor would be practicable under free conditions.[29]

The most controversial attempt to facilitate the use of former slaves as free laborers came in the fall of 1866 when the Eleventh Legislature passed a series of measures collectively known as the "Black Codes." The Army played a conservative role once again by allowing all of the acts to stand except one.[30] Because Texas had been late in reorganizing its government after the war, she had the benefit of northern criticism leveled at Black Codes passed by the other southern states. In many cases she used this to her own advantage by enacting Army orders as state laws. The state act "to provide for the punishment of persons tampering with, persuading or enticing away . . . laborers of apprentices under contract . . ." was quite similar to Freedmen's Bureau Circular No. 14, of May 15, 1866. The Texas law stated that anyone "who shall persuade, or entice away from the service of an employer, any person who is under a contract of labor to such an enployer" was liable to be punished by a fine or imprisonment in the county jail or both. Any person who employed a laborer before his contract to another employer had expired would receive similar punishment. To protect an apprentice's rights, an employer who discharged him had to pay a fine unless he gave the apprentice a written certificate of discharge to enable him to find a new position. Circular No. 14 did not go into as much detail but it did provide that those who enticed away a laborer or apprentice under contract would suffer a fine. In addition, the Bureau circular provided that the laborer who allowed himself to be enticed away could be fined and the amount withheld from his wages.[31]

The Army also helped entrench the lien and share-cropping system in agriculture. General Gregory ordered any labor contract to constitute a lien on the crop in the fall of 1865. The state legislature passed a lien law one year later providing that any provisions, tools, stock, or cash advanced to make a crop constituted a lien on that crop. The lien had preference to any other debts that might be contracted except the rent of the land. Two months later, in December 1866, the Bureau issued Circular No. 25 which ordered agents to recommend that Negroes work for a share of the crop rather than wages. With the Bureau's approval, the lien and share-cropping were well established in the state by

1869, and the Negro was doomed to be a tenant at the mercy of his economic betters.[32]

For these reasons, the Army acquiesced in a strict vagrancy law designed to make plantation work more attractive than idleness to the freedmen. The act defined a vagrant as any "idle person, living without any means of support, and making no exertions to obtain a livelihood, by any honest employment." Included in this definition were gamblers, prostitutes, habitual drunkards, "or persons who stroll idly about in the streets of towns or cities, having no local habitation, and no honest business or employment..." Such persons, when convicted, could be fined and put to labor on public works until their debts were paid off. Those who refused to work for the municipality could be lodged in the town jail and live on bread and water until they changed their minds. Their sentences would not begin until such time as they began to work them off. The Freedmen's Bureau believed that vagrancy laws were a valid means of dealing with Negroes who refused to sign labor contracts, as long as the laws were applied equally to whites and blacks. General Gregory was very strict in this matter and he defined any black away from his employer more than one day "without just cause" a vagrant.[33]

The Army, however, had grave doubts about the November 1 law, "An Act Regulating Contracts for Labor." Unlike the other laws, the military believed this measure obviously applied only to the freedmen.[34] Parts of the act followed earlier Freedmen's Bureau directives. Contracts binding on all family members were made with heads of families; they were to be written out in triplicate with copies for the employer, the laborer, and the county records; they constituted a lien on the crop; and the employee could not leave his place of work without his employer's permission.[35] Other sections of the act, however, hinted at a re-enslavement of the colored laborers. If the laborer feigned sickness, an amount equal to double his wages could be deducted for the lost time. Any disobedience by the laborer incurred a fine for each offense. Losses due to theft were to be restored to the employer at double their value. Most importantly, the employer was allowed to assess these fines himself although the laborer then had the right to appeal to the nearest justice of the peace. Another especially offensive demand was that laborers be on call twenty-four hours each day with the stipulation that "it is the duty of this class of laborers to be especially civil and polite to their employer, his family and guests . . ."[36]

General Kiddoo disliked the discriminatory sections of the labor act, and on January 3, 1867, he ordered that it be disregarded by state courts. There evidently was some problem in forcing the state courts to ignore the labor law because General Griffin had to reissue the order seven months later. By January 1868, however, General Hancock's policy of relying on civil authorities to enforce the laws had severely undercut the Bureau's ability to regulate labor contracts. Once again, the Army had acted to preserve planter control of Negro labor.[37]

In spite of the Army's conservative role on the labor problem, its very presence as a third force in the state was resented by the planters. Thomas Affleck wanted to draw up a five-year contract with his Negroes but feared the Army would not allow it. "Yankee-like, they will not give up their assured right (the right of might) to interfere between me & the negroes at all times," wrote Affleck, "and that, after a contract is made, I will not tolerate."[38]

The history of the Negro in Texas Reconstruction is the tale of how a defeated state achieved the principles for which it had seceded from the Union. "We hold as undeniable truths that the governments of the various states, and of the confederacy [the United States] itself, were established exclusively by the white race, for themselves and their posterity," declared the secession document, "that the African race had no agency in their establishment . . . and can only exist as an inferior and dependent race." The declaration continued, "that in this free government, ALL WHITE MEN ARE AND OF RIGHT OUGHT TO BE, ENTITLED TO EQUAL CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS . . . ." The Army acquiesced in these principles more than the epithet "Military Rule" might suggest.[39]

NOTES

[1]See C. Vann Woodward, "Equality: The Deferred Commitment," *The American Scholar*, XXVII (1958), 459-72.

[2]These figures are in round terms. See H. H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas* (2 vols., San Francisco, 1889), II, 480. The figures in Ernest Wallace, *Texas in Turmoil* (Austin, 1965), 153, 200,000 for 1861 and 400,000 for 1865, are closer to the 1860 census which lists 182,566 slaves. Joseph C. G. Kennedy (comp.), *Population of the United States in 1860* . . . (Washington, 1864),479, 483. The historian of Matagorda County claims that so many Negroes were sent there from the rest of the South during the war, that it took until 1910 for the whites to obtain a majority in numbers. John Columbus Marr, "The History of Matagorda County, Texas" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1928), 163. The 1870 census, however, shows a substantial decrease in Negro population when compared to the 1865 figures. Francis A. Walker (comp.), *The Statistics of the Population of the United States* . . . (Washington, 1972), 65.

[3]*U. S., Statutes at Large*, XIII, 507. General works on the Bureau include Oliver Otis Howard, *Autobiography* (2 vols., New York, 1908); Paul Skeels Pierce, *The Freedmen's Bureau: A Chapter in the History of Reconstruction* (Iowa City, 1904); W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, "The Freedmen's Bureau," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXVII (1901), 354-65; John and La Wanda Cox, "General Howard and the 'Misrepresented Bureau,' " *Journal of Southern History*, XIX (1953), 427-56; George R. Bentley, *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau* (Philadelphia, 1955); John A. Carpenter, *Sword and Olive Branch: Oliver Otis Howard* (Pittsburgh, 1964); William S. McFeely, *Yankee Stepfather: General O. O. Howard and the Freedmen* (New Haven, 1968). On Texas, the standard study of the Bureau is Claude Elliott, "The Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LVI (1952-53), 1-24. An excellent analysis of the Texas Bureau personnel is Lonnie Sinclair, "The Freedmen's Bureau in Texas: The Assistant Commissioners and the Negro" (Unpublished paper submitted to the Institute of Southern History, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, July 22, 1969, manuscript in the author's possession). The author would like to express his thanks to Mr. Edward Rademaker of the History Department of Louisiana State University for drawing his attention to this paper.

[4]Circ. 3, February 1, 1867, Printed Orders, District of Texas, R. G. 94, National Archives. Some Texas civilians asked to be made sub-assistant commissioners. See G. M. Martin to Gov. A. J. Hamilton, August 1, 1865, Governor's papers (Hamilton), Archives, Texas State Library; Sam L. Earle to Hon. James H. Bell, October 13, 1865, James H. Bell papers, Archives, University of Texas; Throckmorton to Brig. Gen. J. B. Kiddoo, October 25, 1866, J. W. Throckmorton papers, *ibid.*

[5]The five heads of the Bureau in Texas and their dates of appointment are as follows: Maj. Gen. Edgar M. Gregory, September 21, 1865; Brig. Gen. Joseph B. Kiddoo, April 2, 1866; Maj. Gen. Charles Griffin, January 24, 1867; Maj. Gen. Joseph J. Reynolds, September 21, 1867, and April 8, 1869; and Maj. Gen. E. R. S. Canby, January 18, 1869. Canby served less than three months and had little influence on Bureau policy in the state. See Pierce, *Freedmen's Bureau*, 47-48, 174; Bentley, *History of the Freedmen's Bureau*, 216.

[6]The goals of the Bureau were to introduce and promote a system of compensated

labor, provide for the destitute, aged, and sick, establish Negro schools, protect loyal white refugees, and adjudicate differences between blacks and whites when civil courts proved inadequate. There were few abandoned lands in Texas, and the white refugees in the state tended to depend upon the regular Army, not the Bureau agents. See Elliott, "Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," 3; Pierce, *Freedmen's Bureau*, 53; Howard, *Autobiography*, II, 243; Charles W. Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas*, (New York, 1910), 74-75.

[7]Bentley, *History of the Freedmen's Bureau*, 60; McFeely, *Yankee Stepfather*, 72-73; Elliott, "Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," 2; Howard, *Autobiography*, II, 218, Gregory's military career is outlined in Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, From Its Organization, September 29, 1789 to March 2, 1903* (2 vols., Washington, 1903), I, 477.

[8]Circ. 1, October 12, 1865, Texas Freedmen's Bureau, R.G. 105, National Archives; Sinclair, "Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," 2-3; Elliott, "Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," 1-3; Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas*, 72-73.

[9]Gregory later took over the Bureau's operations in Maryland. See Sinclair, "Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," 4-6; Elliott, "Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," 10-11; Bentley, *History of the Freedmen's Bureau*, 121; McFeely, *Yankee Stepfather, 68-70; Galveston Daily News*, January 28, 1866, June 20, 1866. Gregory's policy can be seen in his report to Howard, December 9, 1865, January 31, 1866; Brig. Gen. William E. Strong to Howard, January 1, 1866, Dr. I.J.W. Mintzer to Gregory, January 31, 1866, all in *House Executive Documents*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 70, 304-13, 374-77.

[10]Sinclair, "Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," 8; Elliott, "Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," 12-14; Howard, *Autobiography*, II, 195-96; Circ. 20, August 31, 1866, Texas Freedmen's Bureau. See also, Henry Lee Swint, *The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870* (Nashville, 1941), 26-32. For Kiddoo's career, see Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 596.

[11]The Negro schools were a favorite target for Ku Klux Klan raids. See William Garrott Brown, "The Ku Klux Klan Movement," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXVII (1901), 642; Howard, *Autobiography*, II, 377, 384-85; Bettie Hayman, "A Short History of the Negro of Walker County, 1860-1942" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Sam Houston State College, Huntsville, 1942), 18-19; D. J. Baldwin to Hamilton, November 7, 1865, Governor's papers (Hamilton); Elliott, "Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," 21-24.

[12]Elliott, "Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," 7-10, 16-18, 24.

[13]Sinclair, "Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," 10-11; Galveston *Daily News*, February 5, 1867.

[14]Reynolds to AAG, February 19, 1868, Letters Received, Fifth Military District records, R.G. 303, National Archives; Sinclair, "Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," 11-19; Elliott, "Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," 14-16; Howard, *Autobiography*, II, 342-43; Wallace, *Texas in Turmoil, 157; McFeely, Yankee Stepfather*, 293, calls the Army officers who took over the Bureau "ill-disposed to the freedmen." Undoubtedly some were, but in Texas Griffin and Reynolds were less "ill-disposed" than overworked. Both men tried to develop a private company to help Negroes sell their crops independently from the planter, but their failure was due more to their preoccupation with other tasks

than it was to lack of sympathy with the blacks' condition. This may also explain why the later assistant commissioners appeared to support President Johnson's policy of ignoring the potential power of the *Bureau (ibid., 196-97)*.

[15]Bentley, *History of the Freedmen's Bureau,* 136, 137, 139; McFeely, *Yankee Stepfather,* 72.

[16]Galveston *Daily News,* January 8, 1867; Sue Estella Moore, "Life of John Benjamin Long" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1924), 55-56.

[17]John R. Chite to AAG, January 7, 1868, Anonymous to AAG, January 9, 1868, Letters Received, Civil Affairs, Fifth Military District records; Throckmorton to Kiddoo, November 7, 1866, Throckmorton to Griffin, December 18, 1866, Throckmorton papers; Throckmorton to Johnson, December 22, 1867, Andrew Johnson papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; Kiddoo to Throckmorton, January 3, 1867, in "Transcript of Records, 1838-1869," Texas Adjutant General's Office, Archives, University of Texas; Elliott, "Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," 19.

[18]John Corbett to Hamilton, December 7, 1865, Governor's papers (Hamilton); D. H. Crisp to R. V. Cook to AAG, October 10, 1867, Margaret E. Love to AAG, January 27, 1868, S. J. Adams to AAG, February 19, 1868, Letters Received, Civil Affairs, Fifth Military District records. For an authorized seizure of properly belonging to an alleged Unionist, see GO 71, April 20, 1867, District of Texas, *House Executive Documents,* 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 342, 204-205.

[19]Andrew M. Moore to AAG, December 25, 1867, Samuel M. Scott to AAG, December 30, 1867, Letters Received, Civil Affairs, Fifth Military District records; Elliott, "Freedmen's Bureau in Texas," 12; Bentley, *History of the Freedmen's Bureau,* 159, 161, 166; Wallace, *Texas in Turmoil,* 157.

[20]Throckmorton to Griffin, February 7, 1867, Throckmorton to Chief Justice, Panola County, February 8, 1867, Executive Correspondence, Archives, Texas State Library.

[21]Fred Barnard to Hamilton, December 25, 1865, Col. Edward Colyer to J. J. Cunningham, March 5, 1866, Cunningham to Hamilton, March 8, 1866, Governor's papers (Hamilton); Throckmorton to Griffin, December 22, 1866, Throckmorton papers; Throckmorton to E. D. Townsend, January 8, 1867, Johnson papers; Griffin to Throckmorton, January 28, 1867, Governor's papers (Throckmorton); Throckmorton to Griffin, February 7, 22, 1867, Executive Correspondence.

[22]Bentley, *History of the Freedmen's Bureau,* 185-86, 190, 214, feels that political interference destroyed what little good the Bureau did in the South. Texas historians agree. See Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas,* 77; Rosemary F. Haynes, "Some Features of Negro Participation in Texas History Through 1879" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Texas Agricultural and Industrial University, Kingsville, 1948), 77; Bertha Atkinson, "The History of Bell County" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1929), 128; Harrel Budd, "The Negro in Politics in Texas, 1867-1898" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1925), 1-2, 7, 31; William D. Wood, *Reminiscences of Reconstruction in Texas and Reminiscences of Texas and Texans Fifty Years Ago* (San Marcos, Texas, 1902), 14-15.

[23]Capt. W. H. Redman to Lt. Col. E. H. Powell, April 16, 1866, *House Executive Documents,* 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 57, 124; Lt. I. M. Beebe to AAG, May 26, 1866, Letters Received, District of Texas records, R.G. 303, National Archives; Frances Jane Leathers, *Through the Years, A Historical Sketch of Leon County, and the Town of Oakwood* (Oakwood, Texas, 1946), 53. Frank Brown, "Annals of Travis County," mss. in Frank Brown Papers, Archives, University of Texas, ch. XXVI, 15, notes that the Bureau to Austin required that Negroes handle all civil cases in state courts. There is sufficient evidence of this nature to challenge Ramsdell's statement that as long as the regular Army controlled Reconstruction, "Efforts were made to keep the negroes under strict supervision," but that this ended with the arrival of the Freedmen's Bureau commissioners. Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas,* 48. Too often the Bureau agent and the local post commander were the same person with the same racial attitudes, much to the blacks' dismay. Such evidence also casts doubt on Ramsdell's assertion that the Army "refused to allow coercion on the part of employers" against Negroes. *Ibid.,* 50.

[24]GO 3, June 19, 1865, Printed Orders, District of Texas; Circ. 1, October 12, 1865, Texas Freedmen's Bureau; San Antonio *News,* June 27, 1865; Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas,* II, 481; Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas.*70; Wallace, *Texas in Turmoil,* 150, 166; Alonzo Bettis Cox, "The Economic History of Texas During the Period of Reconstruction" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1914), 1, 29, 30; W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy, 1860-1888* (New York, 1935), 553. For examples of brutal treatment of Negroes and continued slavery, see the following letters written to Governor Hamilton: Nat Hart Davis, August –, 1865, Thomas Ford, Philip Howard, and L. L. Aicholz, September 6, 1865, S. T. Richardson, September –, 1865, John E. Thompson, October 8, 1865, Governor's papers (Hamilton). See also, Hamilton to President Johnson, October 21, 1865, Johnson papers; Wright to AAG, July 21, 1866, P. H. Sheridan papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

[25]Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas,* 70; Cox, "The Economic History of Texas During the Period of Reconstruction," 31, 38, 40; Hayman, "A Short History of the Negro of Walker County," 13, 21-22; Fred C. Cole, "The Texas Career of Thomas Affleck" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1942), 201-202; Brownsville *Daily Ranchero,* April 19, 1867; Thomas Affleck to Alexander Hannay, July 14, 1865, Thomas Affleck papers, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University. For examples of stories purported to show Negro "inferiority," see John J. Linn, *Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Texas* (New York, 1883), 357-60; W. A. Carter, *History of Fannin County, Texas: History, Statistics, and Biographies* (Bonham, Texas, 1885), 56-57.

[26]Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas,* 49-50; Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas,* II, 480; Cox, "Economic History of Texas," 29,41; Hayman, "A Short History of the Negro of Walker County," 14-15; Seth Shepard McKay, "Texas Under the Regime of E. J. Davis" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1919), 57; John W. Speer, *A History of Blanco County* (Austin, 1965), 38.

[27]The "forty acres and a mule" had real potential with Texas Negroes. They may have learned that Senator James H. Lane of Kansas had introduced a bill in 1863 to grant the state's lands between the Colorado and the Rio Grande to black settlers. See *Congressional Globe,* 38th Cong., 1st Sess., 1864, XXXIV, Pt. 1, 672-75. A bill was

passed to grant forty acre allotments to Negroes from abandoned lands in 1864. Such plots were granted to blacks on the South Carolina Sea Islands, and Maj. Gen. W. T. Sherman's famous GO 15 gave all lands within thirty miles of the coast to freedmen, but all of these grants were later negated by the government. See La Wanda Cox, "The Promise of Land for the Freedmen," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLV (1958), 413-40. See also, Hamilton to President Johnson, October 21, 1865, Johnson papers; Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas*, 71-72; Cox, "Economic History of Texas," 35. Gregory tried to discourage Negro hopes for land. See Circ. 1, October 12, 1865, Texas Freedmen's Bureau.

[28]J. O. Thilly to Hamilton, November 6, 1865, A. P. McCormick to Hamilton, November 13, 1865, Charles B. Stewart to Hamilton, November 27, 1865, Citizens of Liberty County to Hamilton, November –, 1865, W. B. Price to Hamilton, December 23, 1865, Governor's papers (Hamilton).

[29]Although the whites feared the Negro would not work unless compelled, crop production rose steadily during Reconstruction, in spite of black migration to the cities. See Cox, "Economic History of Texas," 4, 28, 46. See also, Bentley, *History of the Freedmen's Bureau*, 82; John William Rogers, *The Lusty Texans of Dallas* (New York, 1951), 101-103; Flora G. Bowles, "The History of Trinity County" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1928), 51. Berta Lowman, "The Cotton Industry in Texas During the Reconstruction Period" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1927), 73, feels the reliability of Negro labor, the increased industriousness of the white man who was now freed of the onus slavery cast on physical labor, and immigration between 1866 and 1880 are what kept crop production rising in the state. On immigration efforts and their general failure, see Cole, "The Texas Career of Thomas Affleck," 227-446, *passim*. Most of the newcomers to Texas probably came from other southern states. See Houston *Telegraph*, January 4, 1870.

[30]James E. Sefton, *The United States Army and Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, 1967), 42-43; Theodore B. Wilson, *The Black Codes of the South* (University, Alabama, 1965), 57-60; Joe M. Richardson, "Florida Black Codes," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLVII (1968-69), 369-70.

[31]H. N. P. Gammel (comp.), *The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897* (10 vols., Austin, 1898), V, 998-99; Circ. 14, May 15, 1866, Texas Freedmen's Bureau. Circ. 17, June 19, 1866, *ibid.*, ordered Bureau agents to read Circ. 14 to the Negroes in their area and see to it that the circular was strictly enforced. For the "general apprentice law" which had similar penalties, see Gamel, *Laws of Texas*, V, 979-81. Certain rights were given to Negroes (the right to sue, "to have and enjoy the rights of personal security, liberty and private property"), and certain slave codes were repealed at the same legislative session. *ibid.*, 976, 1049- 50.

[32]Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, V, 982; Circ. 25, December 21, 1866, Texas Freedmen's Bureau; Cox, "Economic History of Texas," 41.

[33]The provost marshall of Galveston had placed "all idle negroes" to work on city streets within two weeks of the Army's arrival, Galveston *Daily News*, June 28, 1865. See also, Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, V, 1020-22; Circular Letter, October 17, 1865, Gregory to Benjamin G. Harris, August 20, 1866, Letters Sent, Texas Freedmen's Bureau records. Local communities followed the state legislature's lead and also established strict vagrancy laws. See Egon Richard Tausch, "Southern Sentiment Among the Texas

Germans During the Civil War and Reconstruction" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1965), 81; Dudley Richard Dobie, "History of Hays County, Texas" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1932), 77.

[34]Cole, "The Texas Career of Thomas Affleck," 360-61, maintains that the labor laws were introduced by the same men interested in attracting white immigrant laborers to the state. These laws were designed to safeguard the employer's rights when these laborers arrived. Cole feels the laws received little opposition because it was recognized they could be used against Negro labor, but that this was a secondary consideration. The act's sponsors believed free black labor would never be successful and were looking for a practical alternative. Cole's thesis contradicts Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas,* 125, and Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction,* 143.

[35]The law is in Gammel, *Laws of Texas,* V,994-97. Similar statements by the Bureau are in Circular Letter, October 17, 1865, Letters Sent, Texas Freedmen's Bureau records.

[36]Gammel, *Laws of Texas,* V, 994-97. Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas,* 122, sees the Black Codes as an honest attempt by the legislature to provide the "constant watchfulness and semi-coercion" the Bureau used to keep the Negroes at work by providing "a system of regulation more permanent than that of the Bureau professed to be." The labor act went considerably further, however, than the Bureau directives. See also, *ibid.,* 120-21, 125-26.

[37]There seemed to be some confusion as to just when the act took effect. See San Antonio *Ledger,* November 9, 1866. For the orders cancelling the law, see GO 2, January 3, 1867, GO 25, August 3, 1867, Texas Freedmen's Bureau. See also, A. H. Moore to AAG, January 25, 1868, Letters Received, Civil Affairs, Fifth Military District records. An interesting sidelight occurred when the Black Codes were nullified. The fines were to have gone into a fund to care for pauper children. No further provision had been made by the state legislature for the children which left them wards of the counties. The local governments were slow to help these indigent children, especially if they were black. See Capt. Charles F. Rand to AAG, February 11, 1867, "Transcript of Records, 1838-1869"; Throckmorton to Griffin, March 4, 1867, Throckmorton papers; Throckmorton to Harris County Judge, March 4, 1867, Executive Correspondence.

[38]Affleck to Hannay, July 14, 1865, Affleck papers.

[39]Quoted in Louis J. Wortham, *A History of Texas from Wilderness to Commonwealth* (5 vols., Fort Worth, 1924), IV, 391-97, especially 396. For the early adoption of white supremacy by Texans, see also, Barry A. Crouch and L. J. Schultz, "Crisis in Color: Racial Separation in Texas During Reconstruction," *Civil War History,* XVI (1970), 37-49.

THE TEXAS "ELECTION OUTRAGE" OF 1886

by Robert W. Shook

Texas shared with other southern states, in the 1880's, a set of political circumstances involving the birth of the Populist movement, the death of the Republican Party, the final termination of Reconstruction reform, and the beginning of Negro disfranchisement and segregation. Any number of examples in the decade might be cited to prove that local events, when placed in perspective, illuminate national policy which in turn rescues local history from antiquarianism. Washington County, Texas, in 1886, serves as an example of the axiom.

Economic conditions during the 1880's gave rise to the Populist revolt against Bourbon platforms of privilege and property, and Conservative Democrats, facing a potential coalition of South and West, retaliated with a restatement of the crusade of the 1870's to save the South from alleged Negro rule. Redemption from corruption and Negro domination was revived and racism applied as a lever for discouraging the poor man's attack. Republican strength, more of which remained in Texas by the 1880's than is generally realized, suffered the same fate as Negro suffrage. Conservative Democrats, using the black vote when possible, decried the initial Populist appeal to color. A coalition of black and white agrarians failed, and poor whites then turned on the Negro in a sense of frustration and failure for which they blamed the colored farmers.[1]

In a number of Texas counties contests involving Negro political action generated suspicion, hate, and lawlessness. This struggle was particularly bitter in counties with dense Negro population (Anderson, Brazoria, Matagorda, Washington, and Wharton). In some cases the memory of federal troops and Negro military units was combined with fear of agrarian radicalism to evoke the spectre of a repetition of the events of the late 1860's.[2]

In Washington County, where 50 per cent of the population was colored, Republicans had retained control from 1869 to 1885. A number of Negro legislators went to Austin during that period from the southeast portion of the county.[3] In 1884 a Peoples' Party launched a compaign to expose Republican corruption and misrule, but the charges, in view of general economic conditions, appear exaggerated.[4]

In November, 1886, in an election to fill county, state, and congressional places, the Republican Party offered a full ticket, while Democrats and a few Republicans, representing the "lily white" movement, supported the Peoples' candidates.[5] Initial reports claimed the election "passed off very quietly with no disturbances . . . in any part of the county." Republicans were said to have been well-organized, and the outcome was "very close at best." Of 5,500 votes cast, one-third were black. The critical contest was for the office of county judge. Incumbent Judge Lafayette Kirk, the Peoples' choice, and Carl Shutze, a Republican, faced each other in a competition of color and national origin.[6]

The description of the election was premature. Peoples' Party candidates took every position except that of tax assessor, and at strategically located boxes, election irregularities, voter intimidation, and murder occurred.[7]

In January, 1887, the United States Senate determined to investigate the election, and the testimony was taken from February to March, 1888. The document which initiated the inquiry was a petition from three citizens of Washington County: Stephen A. Hackworth, a native Texan; James L. Moore, an Alabamian who had resided in Texas for twenty years; and Carl Shutze, a thirty-year resident and naturalized citizen from Germany. Their petition contained three basic complaints: all three suffered loss of property when forced to leave the county; several ballot boxes had been either stolen or

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improperly supervised during the election; three Negro men had been hanged without trial for the alleged murder of a white man on election day.[8]

During the proceedings Senator Richard Coke of Texas offered testimony designed to expose the petitioners as propertyless, politically motivated trouble-makers. Coke alleged that the three had falsely described the death of a white man, that no secret organization existed in Washington County to harass them, and that no effort had been spared to apprehend the unknown parties who avenged the murder. The Senator's major contention was that the federal government had no jurisdiction to investigate a state election, particularly since no complaint was registered in regard to the congressional place filled in 1886. He did admit, however, that there had been three illegal hangings in the county. Former Governor John Ireland also testified, and his remarks coincided with those of Coke. Ireland's long resume of Southern history focused on the theme that Reconstruction laws had preordained such disturbance as was under investigation. Admitting that the details of the Washington County election of 1886 escaped his memory, the former governor explained that a fire - set by federal troops - in 1869, and Republican corruption in the years since, had forced the people of Washington County to restore responsible government through the Peoples' Party.[9]

Senator Coke's efforts did not alter the committee's decision to proceed with the investigation. The chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections placed full faith in the integrity of the memorialists; in his view, the several thousand dollars in property loss was verified, and threats of physical violence had indeed been made.[10] A slight Republican majority empowered the committee to act, whether to simply discredit the Democrats or to implement some degree of idealism surviving the Compromise of 1877.[11] The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections was dominated by five Republicans: William M. Evarts (New York), William P. Frye (Maine), George F. Hoar (Massachusetts), John C. Spooner (Wisconsin), Henry M. Teller (Colorado). Four Democrats – James B. Eustis (Louisiana), James L. Pugh (Alabama), Zebulon B. Vance (North Carolina) and Eli D. Saulsbury (Delaware) – constituted the minority.[12]

In spite of criticism by opponents who contended that the Republicans were motivated purely by a quest for political power, the committee was staffed by men with impressive credentials. Hoar, especially, had distinguished himself. Reared by parents interested in the slavery issue, he graduated from Harvard, studied law, and progressed from state to national positions. Hoar managed the impeachment of William W. Belknap in 1876 and served on the electoral commission of 1877. He won five senatorial elections in Massachusetts and sat on the Harvard University Board of Overseerers. Teller and Spooner, whose names would appear often during the McKinley and Taft administrations, also had worthy educational and military records. William Maxwell Evarts attended the Boston Latin School, Yale, and Harvard. He defended Andrew Johnson during the 1868 impeachment proceedings and served as Secretary of State, 1877-1881.[13] Although the Democrats on the committee were not without claim to sound credentials, in general, the minority party had reserved its more able men for other committees.[14]

Once the determination was made to select for investigation the Washington County, Texas, election irregularities from a large number in both the North and South, Texas became a focus in the Senate drive for federal election regulation. Information garnered by both political factions proves the southeast portion of Washington County to have been without adequate law enforcement in 1886. The home of Robert Turner Flewellen was designated in November as an election poll. On November 2, County Judge Kirk telegraphed D. D. Bolton who lived at nearby Courtney in Grimes County. Kirk's message read: "Things look doubtful here. Do your work." Kirk then appeared at the Flewellen poll. He found that Jimmie Hewitte, a Negro Republican candidate for county clerk, had received more votes than the white Democrat. Kirk conversed with the

election judge, then left. At dusk three masked, armed men entered Flewellen's home One of several Negroes present fired "a full charge of no. 4 shot striking and tearing out ... the left eye and part of the forehead" of one of the disguised intruders. The murder victim was Dewees Bolton, son of D. D. Bolton. Whites and blacks then fled, leaving Bolton's body until morning when the election judge and a Negro, Alfred Jones, returned to remove the corpse. Eight blacks were arrested for the killing, and three of them were later hanged without trial.[15]

The *Galveston News* described Bolton's death as "Foul Murder"; the subsequent lynching of the Negroes as a "Hanging." Bolton, according to the same source, was an "inoffensive, unarmed, young white man of excellent character" who appeared at Flewellen's not to tamper with ballots but simply to inquire of his father's success as a candidate for county office.[16]

Seven miles from the Flewellen polling place was Lott's Store, another election box where the Republican Party was quite strong. Officials counted the ballots at Lott's and found that Republicans polled 156 of the 189 votes cast. They then completed the tally sheets for deposit at Brenham. C. P. Spann, a native Texan and Democratic election clerk, and Marshall Booker were entrusted to transport the ballots. Near Independence three armed men demanded the records. The guards reported the incident to the county judge and sheriff, but the officials could not identify or locate the lawbreakers.[17]

Nearby, in the Graball community, Negro voters outnumbered whites five to one. The November election here produced a 100 vote majority for the Republican ticket, but "unknown" persons destroyed the ballots. Three white, masked, and armed men arrived at the Graball poll approximately one half hour after a conversation between an election official, Paul Connell, and another white resident. Connell later remarked, "I knowed they were going to do it." The election board at Graball, consisting of three white and two Negro officials, delivered a copy of only one tally sheet to the county judge.[18] Testimony surrounding the Graball incident was challenged by Senator Coke. He conjectured that the masked intruders were Schutze Republicans who realized that Kirk led at that box.[19]

Chappell Hill, ten miles east of Brenham, was another contested box in 1886. Two years earlier three black election officials lost their lives at this village. In 1886, J. M. Nicholson, a Populist election judge, declared the precinct closed since he could not find "enough men, black and white, competent in intelligence and ability to read and write to make up the necessary number" of election officials.[20]

During the senate hearings Washington County officials often referred to an imminent Negro insurrection. Prior to and following the November balloting, according to Judge Kirk, white men delivered "incendiary speeches" designed to incite Negroes to violence. These addresses, however, were apparently nothing more than anti-Kirk political harangues. N. E. Dever, sheriff of Washington County, told the committee that no real evidence existed to support Kirk's claims.[21] Reacting to this unfounded fear, however, Captain J. M. Wesson of Navasota ordered militia troops to muster for a patrol of the Graball and Flewellen districts. Sixteen men under his command arrived late on November 8, and after one day's surveillance, finding no serious threat to order, they returned to Navasota.[22]

At all of the above polling places the Republican Party used a "diamond-shaped" ticket the legality of which had been a matter of dispute. The ticket's shape was defended by Republicans as an effort "to protect colored voters from imposition and fraud practiced upon their ignorance and simplicity." Those who could not read would easily recognize the party's symbol. In 1885 the Texas Supreme Court declared the ballot to be lawful, the Brenham lawyers had discussed the decision prior to the 1886 election. The election judge at Independence, however, rejected the "diamond" tickets as illegal. When several white Democrats in that community protested this action, Judge

Kirk admitted that he knew the court's decision. Pressed hard by senate committee members, Kirk remarked: "I had studied the law before, and I was governed by that, and had no special occasion to read that recent decision."[23] Hence the ballots at Independence were not counted.

More serious than ballot interference and the negligence of the county judge was the application of lynch law subsequent to the November election. On November 9, the sheriff of Washington County arrested eight Negroes for the murder of Dewees Bolton and confined them to a Houston jail. A Washington County attorney, F. D. Jodon, attempted to effect their release based on statements by R. P. Hackworth, a justice of the peace, and Alexander Erickson, county clerk of Harris County, both of whom declared the charges to be false. Before Judge I. B. McFarland of the 21st District could act, Washington County officers returned the prisoners to the Brenham jail. On the night of December 2 "unidentified" persons overpowered the Brenham jailer, escorted three of the eight prisoners to Sandy Creek, one mile from Brenham, and hanged them. The *Galveston News* reported the next day that the lynching was the "culmination of. . . incendiary speeches. . . and while all good citizens regret the hanging, they cannot but think that tardy justice was done." The Brenham *Daily Banner* described the event as a product of Republican activity:

> The hanging of these negroes by a mob is an occurence to be regretted, but it was brought on by the very men who professed to have the greatest friendship for the negro. . . the parties who hanged them are unknown. . . . The negroes were scientifically hanged with new grass ropes. . . The bodies were cut down and hauled to town... New drawers, undershirts, and nice shrouds were purchased and good coffins procured. . . after which they were turned over to their friends and relatives, who took them to their former homes near Flewellen for burial.[24]

According to one source, the victims, Alfred Jones, Ephraim Jones, and Shad Felder, were carefully selected from the eight under arrest. The testimony of these three would have allegedly revealed Bolton's true intentions at the Flewellen poll on November 2.[25] Those who remained in jail were released on bail, a process the senate committee found unusual in capital offenses,[26] and no evidence was presented to indicate subsequent trial.

Considerable attention was given during the senate hearings to the possibility of an active Ku Klux Klan operating in Washington County. The original petitioners testified that "bulldozing" (using economic pressure and general intimidation to force Negroes to vote the Democratic ticket) was common. J. L. Moore believed Judge Kirk and Colonel D. C. Giddings were leaders of a well-disciplined KKK.[27] Attorney F. D. Jodon testified to the use of intimidation to discourage his defense of the alleged killers of Bolton. So violent were the warnings that the city marshal of Brenham and Jodon's associate, C. R. Breedlove, advised the attorney to relocate at Bastrop where Breedlove had a friend, Colonel G. W. Jones, who would assist in Jodon's establishing a practice.[28] Based on testimony gathered by the senate committee, it appears inaccurate to terminate KKK activity in the 1870's though it has been traditional to do so. One well-known work on Texas Reconstruction reads: "the scattered Texas chapters, if not already dead, certainly ceased to exist following the passage of the Ku Klux Act... on April 20, 1871." Another regional history contends that the Klan disappeared "when the Federal soldiers were withdrawn."[29]

Federal interest in the Washington County election of 1886 extended beyond the senate investigation. The federal district attorney in Austin filed six charges against

Judge Kirk and others. One indictment stated that Kirk did "unlawfully conspire, combine, confederate and agree to commit" interference with the election process at Flewellen's, Graball, and Lott's Store.[30] Kirk was tried in August, 1887. Those present during the court proceedings indicate the significance of the case in federal-state relations. Rudolph Kleberg prosecuted as district attorney; former Governor John Ireland, ex-congressman John Hancock, Seth Shepard, and W. W. Searcy defended Kirk without pay. E. B. Turner, a Vermont Republican, was trial judge. Turner was the first jurist, incidently, to declare the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional.[31]

Readers of the *Galveston News* learned on August 14, 1887, that fifty witnesses had departed Washington County for the Austin trial. They were described as "staunch citizens of the precinct." It appeared to the *News* that no witnesses would be called since a plea by attorneys was made to dismiss the case on grounds of no federal jurisdiction. Judge Turner denied the plea, however, and the *News* reported that testimony revealed no conspiracy though there had been "a good deal of monkeying with the ballot boxes." The jury was "regarded as very intelligent and made up of both political parties and hence was expected to return a fair and just verdict."[32]

After three days of testimony and deliberation, the jury found the defendants innocent. There was from the outset little doubt as to the results of the trial. In addition to the notables who served without fees, Senator Richard Coke sat with the defendant, chatting and offering advice in the courtroom and also in the Driscoll Hotel. For his services Seth Shepard received, through subscription, a gold-headed cane.[33]

Members of the Senate investigating committee discovered that no full record of *U. S. v. Kirk et. al.* existed. D. H. Hart, the district clerk in Austin, stated that only 52 of 188 pages of transcript were found during a search of his offfice.[34]

Federal action to insure fair elections had already been initiated in the House by Henry Cabot Lodge who, in cooperation with Evarts and other senators, hoped to obtain both justice and partisan advantage through national legislation. Lodge's advocacy in this cause earned for him lasting prominence in national affairs; it was a crusade for which he had more feeling than any other, and it served as the subject for his first major House address. In February, 1889, Evarts presented to the Senate his committee's findings on the Texas "outrage," and recommended a revision of federal election laws to protect the franchise. In April, 1890, Senator Hoar initiated one of the most controversial debates in the history of the upper chamber. Hoar's bill, based on the committee's recommendation, was described by James L. Pugh, a minority member of the committee, as "revolutionary." It provided for a system of inspection and supervision of federal elections not unlike that inacted seventy-four years later. Pugh contended the measure "wipes out regulation of congressional elections by the states. . . . It prostitutes and degrades the judiciary. . . . If the bill becomes law, its execution will insure the shedding of blood." The same argument, and indeed, the predicted results would manifest themselves over half a century later. Hoar countered by reminding the Senate of successful experiments in New York where the battle for a secret ballot was already being waged, and the Senate placed the bill on the calendar.[35]

The House passed the measure, but a debate in the upper chamber "shook not only the Senate but also the country as few parliamentary battles have done."[36] Friends of the legislation labeled it a "Federal Election Bill"; its foes dubbed it a "Force Act." In December, Hoar found sufficient support for passage if a vote could be called, but Senate Democrats launched a filibuster. A Republican schism on money policy diluted that party's strength, and on January 5, 1891, the Senate voted to

consider a currency bill rather than limit debate to allow a vote on the Federal Election Bill.[37]

During the filibuster Senator Coke carried the burden of opposition with support from John H. Reagan. The former had declared in 1874: "We no longer fear Federal interference. . .the popular mind is free from passion or excitement, and views the great questions to be solved through no discolored medium."[38] Fear returned, however, by 1890, and the same senator in that year voiced what became national policy for over a half a century.

> Let the people of each State alone. Let the men control who know each other, the men who are peers, the men who are raised together, the men who are neighbors; let them settle it. Just let us alone; just let the negroes take care of themselves. . .and those whom God has in His Creation. . .decreed by the structure and organization of their brain. . .rule.[39]

Both Coke and Reagan reminded their colleagues that Kansas, New York, Illinois, and Ohio were all states which suffered what Texas had been singled out to demonstrate, a need for federal election supervision.[40] After a summary of Negro slavery Reagan defended his state by noting that "blacks are under the law everywhere. . . . They have the right to vote everywhere." Whites, he said, taxed themselves to provide for Negro education. Any such law as then under consideration "would certainly Africanize. . .the Southern States. . .and plunge them into barbarism." He contended further that "lawless men of the South get their inspiration. . . from the wicked politicians and newspapers of the Northern States who foment sectional strife for partisan purposes."[41]

The opinions of Coke and Reagan prevailed. Public sentiment and the official position of the Republican Party had abandoned the crusade of thirty years before. Political compromise between conservatives of North and South, and the social consequences of imperialism with its admission of racial inferiority, postponed major electoral reform for over half a century.

Governor James S. Hogg recognized, in the wake of the investigation, a need for more effective laws to "guard the ballot box," but he felt the remedy should be reserved to state officials. Hogg visited Washington County in 1892 and spoke to a gathering of 1300 at Brenham, half of whom were black. Admitting the lawlessness of the previous six years, he declared: "Did you ever hear of an influencial and wealthy man being killed by a mob? Let a humble negro or a poor white man commit some crime and a gang of interprising, and wild wooly fellows will swing him to a tree without a trial." These remarks served as the basis for a strong Colored Hogg Club in Brenham.[42]

Other prominent Texans were more reluctant to admit the facts of the 1886 "outrage." Guy M. Bryan attributed the disturbances in Washington County to northern agitators and accused that section of hypocrisy in demanding of the South the eradication of social concepts which were duplicated in the North.

> Let the people of the South manage their own affairs and these questions in time will settle and adjust themselves. . . they are fast doing so when not disturbed by northern politicians, carpet-baggers and Scalawags, as instanced in the Washington County outrage cases.[43]

No immediate results can be attributed to the Senate investigation of the Texas "outrage" of 1886. National interest in election reform waned, and Texas law followed the general southern pattern of reaction. In 1891 the state established limited registration by constitutional amendment; in 1895 inadequate regulation of primaries; in 1902 a poll tax as a prequisite for voting. The Terrell Election Law of 1905 was the culmination of attempts to reform the election process, but, in the main, these modifications disfranchised the Negro.[44] Between 1887 and 1907 segregation intimidation replaced what had been a considerable degree of integration, as the more prosperous and socially respected classes, who had earlier courted the black, joined the lower economic strata to eliminate the colored vote. Both Conservative Democrats and agrarian reformers had mobilized the Negro vote for policital advantage. Populists applied it as a threat to established state governments, but both factions, by the 1890's, discovered the support of Texas Negroes to be a liability.[45]

Senator Evarts, summarizing his committee's investigation, provided an objective and candid view of a complex social problem. He conceded that such activities as were uncovered by his committee might be expected where the two races were evenly divided. Social disorders, however,

> tend to weaken and set back the sincere desire of the country at large to obliterate all distinctions, as between geographical or political division. . . and equality of right in discussion and solving. . .problems which affect the welfare of the people.

He accurately forecast that disclosures such as his committee made would be received differently in the two sections of the nation, but that such revelations were necessary procursors to justice. "The truth will surely force the evils and dangers, everywhere in this country. . .upon the conscience and the responsibility of the whole people."[46]

On a small scale the Texas election "outrage" of 1886 contributes to the recent interpretation of Populism as a political movement distinct from that of subsequent reform attempts.[47] Disclosures in the Senate did not bring immediate reform. The verbiage surrounding the investigation, the price paid by the Negro for his political interest, and the reluctance to admit the need for national legislation to protect the ballot indicate that Populism in that section of Texas represented the termination of reform rather than a contributor to Progressivism. The reform aspects of Texas agragrian protest were not generated by urban conditions which would later motivate the progressives to demand at least a modicum of devices to guarantee the freedom of the ballot.

NOTES

[1]C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York, 1955), 57-63; Henry Lee Moon, *Balance of Power: The Negro Vote* (New York, 1948), 79-80; Rupert Norval Richardson, *Texas: The Lone Star State* (New York, 1943), 360-361; Frank W. Johnson, *A History of Texas and Texans* (Chicago, 1914), I, 599-600.

[2]United States Senate, 50th Congress, 2d Session, Document 62, *Testimony on the Alleged Election Outrages in Texas* (Washington, 1889), 663-664; Charles W. Ramsdell, "Presidential Reconstruction in Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* XII (January, 1909), 219-220; Ernest W. Winkler, *Platforms of Political Parties in Texas* (Austin, 1916), 242, 251; *Galveston Daily News,* November 27, 1886. For violence in San Augustine County, see C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South,* 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge, 1951), 259.

[3]*Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2nd Session, XX, 1820; J. Mason Brewer, *Negro Lesiglators of Texas* (Dallas, 1935), 91-92, 126-128; *Members of the Legislature of the State of Texas from 1846 to 1939* (Austin, 1939), 74-75, 84, 99, 113, 122, 129; Frank H. Smyrl, "Unionism in Texas, 1865-1861," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* LXVIII (October, 1964), 194; Robert C. Cotner, *James Stephen Hogg: A Biography* (Austin, 1959), 312; Charles F. Schmidt, *History of Washington County* (San Antonio, 1949), 38-39, 48, 78. The communities of the region were small farm settlements with approximately twenty-five persons living in those where contests were crucial (this a statistic quoted in 1900). Ellis A. Davis and Edwin H. Grabe, editors, *The Enclycopedia of Texas* (Dallas, N.D.), I, 191.

[4]United States Senate, 50th Congress, 2d Session, Report No. 2534, 67; *Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2d Session, XX, 1847-1848.

[5]Senate Document 62, 9; Senate Report 2534, 16-17.

[6]*Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2d Session, XX, 1889-1891; *Galveston Daily News,* November 3, 1886.

[7]Senate Report 2534, 17; Joseph D. Harris, *Election Administration in the United States* (Washington, 1934), 154; *Galveston Daily News,* November 5, 1886.

[8]Senate Report 2534, 1-4; Senate Document 62, 1-4.

[9]Guy M. Bryan referred to the petitioners as "disreputable politicians. . .who wished to rule the people of that county by controlling the black vote." Ernest W. Winkler, editor, "The Bryan-Hayes Correspondence," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,*XXIX (January, 1926), 237; *Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2d Session, XX, 1889-1900, 1927-1934, 1974-1981, 2011-2015; Senate Document 62, 336.

[10]Senate Report 2534, 5; Senate Document 62, 616-618; *Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2d Session, XX, 1980; *The Texas Legal Directory* (Austin, 1877), 24, 61.

[11]Hoar announced that the committee had received many petitions requesting investigation of "alleged outrages of life in some of the Southern states."

Congressional Record, 50th Congress, 2d Session, XX, 1820; Senate Document 62, 1. In the 50th Congress, Republicans enjoyed a two vote superiority in the Senate but were a minority in the House; after 1888 the House too had a small Republican majority. *Historical Statistics of the United States Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, 1960), 691.

[12]*Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 1st Session, XXIX, 16.

[13]*Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2d Session, XX, 1819-1820; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774 - 1961* (Washington, 1961), 870, 918, 1061, 1639, 1697.

[14]*Biographical Directory,* 866, 1486, 1563, 1745.

[15]*Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2d Session, XX, 1821, 1839, 1893; Senate Report 2534, 30-31; Senate Document 62, 31-33, 39, 47; Walter Prescott Webb, editor, *The Handbook of Texas* (Austin, 1952), II, 611. A description of the Bolton murder is found in *Galveston Daily News,* November 4, 1886.

[16]*Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2d Session, XX, 2203; Senate Document 62, 605-606. The Brenham *Daily Banner* of November 4, 1886, named Polk Hill as Bolton's killer.

[17]*Congressional Record* 50th Congress, 2d Session, XX, 1820; Senate Document 62, 4-14; Senate Report 2534, 21-22.

[18]*Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2d Session, XX, 1820; Senate Document 62, 51-53, 59, 89; Senate Report 2534, 25; *Handbook of Texas,* I, 714, shows Graball (Gay Ball) with a population of 100 in 1892 before its decline with the arrival of the railroad.

[19]*Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2d Session, XX, 1891.

[20]*Ibid.,* 1820; Senate Report 2534, 19-20; Senate Document 62, 19; *Handbook of Texas,* I, 330.

[21]Senate Document 62, 623-625; Senate Report 2534, 70-71; *Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2d Session XX, 1850.

[22]*Ibid.,*1850.

[23]*State of Texas v Phillips,* 63 Texas 390, 1885, *American Digest,* XVIII, 237; Senate Document 62, 64, 127, 224, 247, 420; Senate Report 2534, 44-45. For a brief discussion of the tactics used by conservatives to manage election results see Fred A. Shannon, *The Centennial Years* (New York, 1969), 14-19, edited by Robert Huhn Jones.

[24]Senate Report 2534, 48-50; Senate Document 62, 129, 142-143, 171-177, 181, 230, 237-238, 512, 682-683; *Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2d Session, XX, 1843-1844; *Galveston Daily News,* December 3, 1886.

[25]Senate Report 2534, 48-50; Senate Document 62, page 40.

[26]Senate Document 62, pages 290-291, 297.

[27]Senate Document 62, pages 518-519. DeWitt Clinton Giddings was a leading citizen of Brenham and a Confederate veteran. As "one of the most aggressive and influencial Texans during the era of reconstruction" he won a seat in Congress but was denied the place by E. J. Davis; the House rejected Davis' appointment of General William T. Clark and Giddings took his seat. Johnson, *Texas and Texans,* IV, 1781-1782; John Henry Brown, *History of Texas* (St. Louis, 1893), II, 477.

[28]Senate Report 2534, page 57; Johnson, *Texas and Texans,* IV, 1781; George Washington Jones was Lieutenant Governor in 1866; he was removed by military order in 1867 and later served as a Greenback congressman. *Biographical Directory,* 1136.

[29]W.C. Nunn, *Texas Under the Carpetbaggers* (Austin, 1962), 252; George Louis Crockett, *Two Centuries in East Texas* (Dallas, 1932), 349.

[30]*Galveston Daily News,* August 25, 1887; Senate Document 62, 646-649.

[31]Kleberg was a federal district attorney 1885-1896 and then took a seat in the House of Representatives. *Handbook of Texas,* I, 969. Seth Shepard was a Confederate veteran, leader of the redemption movement, railroad attorney, and Dallas lawyer who took a place on the federal bench in 1893. *Texas Legal Directory,* 24, 61; *Handbook of Texas,* II, 601. Exekiel B. Turner moved to Texas in 1853 to practice law in Austin. His career as United States Attorney after 1866 and state Attorney General after 1867 illustrates the fallacy of generalizations concerning Reconstruction appointees and "carpetbaggers." James D. Lynch, *The Bench and Bar of Texas* (St. Louis, 1885), 365-366. For W. W. Searcy see Schmidt, *Washington County,* 39.

[32]*Galveston Daily News,* August 14, 17, 1887.

[33]Senate Document 62, 644. Evidence in the Federal Records Center, Ft. Worth, Texas, Cases 1038-1040, is incomplete but does contain a copy of the "diamond ticket" and the original telegram from Kirk to Bolton.

[35]The personal committment of Henry Cabot Lodge, the interesting family connections of Evarts and Hoar, and the sense of historical mission of all three are discussed in Henry Cabot Lodge, *Early Memories* (New York, 1925), 8-9, 258, 277, 294; John A. Garraty, *Henry Cabot Lodge* (New York, 1953), 117-119; *Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2d Session, XX, 1455, XXII, 18, 48, 74-79, 115-128, 167-175, 240-244, 279-295, 325-336, 365-377, 1564-1568. Pugh declared during the discussion that "350,000 trained electioneers may cover every Democratic State and Congressional district on election day at an expense every two years of $10,000,000." *Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2d Session, XX, 1455; 51st Congress, 1st Session, XXI, 3760, 8277-8278.

[36]Franklin L. Burdette, *Filibustering in the Senate* (Princeton, 1940), 52-57; *Congressional Record,* 51st Congress, 1st Session XXI, 6079.

[37]*Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2d Session XXII, 18, 48, 74-79, 115, 128, 167-175, 240-244, 279, 295, 325-336, 365-377, 1564-1568. Silverites were anxious to proceed to other business, and even Hoar saw the bill "stirring up more sectional problems than it could ever cure." Garraty, *Lodge,* 119-120.

[38]Johnson, *Texas and Texans,* I, 576; *Biographical Directory,* p. 718; *Handbook of Texas,* II, 370.

[39]*Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2d Session, XX, 2015.

[40]Ben H. Procter, *Not Without Honor: The Life of John H. Reagan* (Austin, 1962), 273; *Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2d Session, XX, 2203.

[41]*Ibid.,* 2204-2205.

[42]Cotner, *Hogg,* 225-226, 312-313; Arthur C. Ludington, *American Ballot Laws, 1888-1910* (New York, 1911), 182-183.

[43]Guy M. Bryan served in the Texas House of Representatives in 1873, 1879, and 1887 after two years (1857-1859) in the United States Congress. *Handbook of Texas,* I, 233; Winkler, "Bryan-Hayes Correspondence," 237.

[44]Spencer D. Albright, *The American Ballot* (Washington, 1942), 28; Richardson, Texas, 368-369; Frederick D. Ogden, *The Poll Tax in the South* (Birmingham, 1958), 8-12; *Constitution of the State of Texas,* annotated by W. M. Harris (Kansas City, 1913), 504-508; *Handbook of Texas,* I, 551.

[45]John Samuel Ezell, *The South Since 1865* (New York, 1963), 185-186. A decline in Washington County's Republican vote between 1884 and 1890 is clearly demonstrated in W. Dean Burham, *Presidential Ballots 1836-1892* (Baltimore, 1955), 810-811. Washington County offers an opportunity for comparison with those agriculturally depressed counties where Texas Populism began. Roscoe C. Martin, *The Peoples Party in Texas,*(Austin, 1933). Disfranchisement and violence in Texas during the period is discussed in Woodward, *Origins of the New South,* 259, 343.

[46]*Congressional Record,* 50th Congress, 2d Session XX, 1855-1856; Senate Report 2534, 89-90.

[47]John Higham, *The Reconstruction of American History* (New York, 1962), 160-161; Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York, 1951), 131.

CHARLES BRUCE RICHARDSON – AN EAST TEXAS EXAMPLE OF DIVERSIFIED FARMING IN THE 1865 – 1886 PERIOD

by Irvin M. May, Jr.

A revolution occurred in Southern agriculture following the Civil War. The old plantation system disappeared, and free labor replaced slavery. Mechanization of agriculture accelerated in the post-war period and a marked change in farm tenure with an increase in tenancy and the crop-lein system resulted.[1] Farmers did not have currency and needed credit to exist during the period when crops were not harvested. The solution to this agrarian dilemna, the crop-lein system, bound the Southern farmers to one crop: cotton.

Cotton became the essence of the Southern agricultural economy for cotton almost served the purpose of money. Many Southern farmers were forced by the merchants to raise cotton. As the historian John D. Hicks has observed, it was easier and expedient for farmers in need of credit to accede to the merchant's wishes and plant cotton only as a cash crop. These farmers then were bound to the merchant for most of their groceries and supplies.[2] Besides, cotton was the crop which most Southerns could raise best.[3]

Many Southern farmers during the Reconstruction era became slaves to the merchant. C. Vann Woodward contended that "by submitting to the one-crop system (and there was no choice) the farmer further depleted his lands and became more dependent upon the merchant's high priced fertilizer and feed, and further increased the surplus and decreased the price of the very product upon which he staked it all." Thus, Southern farmers sold their cotton as raw material at low prices and purchased their needs in processed form at high prices.[4] The poverty of the post-Civil War Period produced a reliance upon cotton.[5]

East Texas farmers encountered this basic problem in conjunction with their contemporaries.[6] Farm leaders endeavored to find solutions to it. Usually recommendations advocated that farmers practice thrift and scientific farming, work harder and diverersify their crops.[7] Crop diversification was advocated by agricultural organizations like the National Grange[8] and newspaper editors as diverse as Henry W. Grady of the Atlanta (Ga.) *Constitution*[9] and Robert T. Milner of the Henderson (Texas) *Times*. Milner, a Rusk County editor, advocated that crop diversification was the correct prescription for the ills of Southern agriculture. He called for East Texas farmers to "rise-up, ye noble yeomanry, diversify your crops, raise plenty to eat, keep out of debt and be slaves no longer."[10] Already when Milner became editor, farmers were considering crop diversification in Rusk County as an alternative to the one crop system. Charles Bruce Richardson of Henderson was a living example of Milner's sentiments. He had already freed himself of dependence upon the crop-lein system through his scientific farming.[11]

The outbreak of the Civil War had found Charles Richardson, a native of Spotsylvania County, Virginia, operating a 569 acre farm in Carroll Parish, Louisiana near Vicksburg, Mississippi. The seige of that city by Union forces resulted in Richardson's decision to go west for his family's safety. He recorded in his diary that as of March 13, 1863 "most of the Negro men have Either run off to the Yankees, or been sent off to Monroe for safety."[12] In May he was ordered to "destroy all cotton which may be subject to be secured by the Enemy." In accord with this policy of Confederate general P. G. T. Beauregard, Richardson destroyed his crops to prevent seizure by the Union troops.[13]

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The Richardson family fled with other refugees and reached Marshall, Texas in July, 1863. The town was crowded with refugees, and Richardson decided to push westward in search of good farm land. On November 9, 1863 he purchased a 230 acre farm near Henderson, Texas from Charles Lewis, paying $4,000 Confederate currency. The next month his family arrived at the new farm.[14]

Richardson's original intentions were to temporarily locate near Henderson and return to Louisiana following the war. However, the devestation of the war and the collapse of the Confederacy raised doubts as to whether Richardson would return home. The future looked bleak as he recorded in his diary, "Oh God! Lee Has Surrendered! We are lost!"[15] In October, 1865, Richardson visited his former home and found the house wrecked. Pecan groves were growing where once he had planted cotton. Richardson concluded that a brighter future lay in Texas. Reluctantly he rented the farm and returned to Texas for at least another year. It had not been easy for Charles Bruce Richardson, now 57 years of age, to start a new life in Texas. Despite infrequent visits to his former residence, Richardson's permanent home would remain in Rusk County, Texas.

Richardson was a pioneer horticulturalist and scientific farmer who believed in crop diversification. Possessing a knowledge of botany, physiology, geology and meterology,[16] he kept a day-by-day account of weather information and agricultural conditions in his diary and day book. This information was used to plant crops the next year and to anticipate unfavorable weather conditions.

In 1864, Richardson began recording, planting and harvesting crops. Cotton, to be sure, was a predominant crop, but Richardson highly diversified his agriculture. He wanted to experiment with as many crops as possible in order to determine which crops could grow best on his new farm. In 1865, strawberries, tobacco, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, onions, radishes, corn, beans, squash, okra, potatoes, pumpkins, watermelons, peas, indigo, musk melons, sugar cane, turnips, rice and Black Mustard were planted. Additionally Richardson's orchard contained varieties of pears, apples and peaches. His barnyard contributed poultry to the family table, and livestock and swine were raised on the farm. Richardson had a great variety of produce.

The Rusk Countian maintained an interest in grain from the start of his life in East Texas. An interest, no doubt resulting from his Virginia boyhood and Louisiana experiences, Richardson experimented with various types of wheat. In 1865 Harris white wheat, Cumby white wheat, Phillips red wheat, barley and rye were planted and harvested. During that winter, Richardson planted these grains again for winter pasture for his livestock. Included in this operation were the practices of winter plowing and use of manures.[17] As few Rusk County farmers were interested in soil conservation, Richardson's actions were exceptional.

Richardson's curiosity with plants led to further crop diversification. In 1866 he planted asparagus for the first time and added Weaver plums, Early June Soft peaches and August plums to his orchard. The next two years, crop diversification continued and Cataba grapes, mulberries, Tappahanock wheat and two varieties of apples were planted on the farm. The results of these efforts were successful. At the Rusk County Fair of 1868, Richardson received awards for the best ham, sugar, sorghum, peaches, Cataba grapes, rice and preserves.[18] His agricultural prowess was recognized throughout the county, and beyond. District Judge Mathew Ector wrote Richardson requesting samples of his "superior quality of watermelon seed" and "a few of your superior tomato seed if you have any on hand."[19] Richardson became President of the Rusk County Fair Association and served as a member of its board of directors for many years.

The horticulturalist did not rest on his laurels. In 1869 he experimented with various varieties of peaches.[20] In the vanguard of the emphasis upon peach culture

which swept East Texas in the 1870's, Richardson constructed a greenhouse where he planted various varieties of peach seeds. These were transplanted to the orchard and grafted during the spring. The agriculturalist hoped to find the best variety of peaches for his soil and climate.

However, this quest for knowledge was not limited to fruit. Throughout 1869, Richardson planted a great variety of crops. That year he recorded in his diary for the first time planting collards, raspberries, Silverskin onions, Prolific cotton, Diekel wheat, lespedezaa and Austrailan Prairie Grass Seed.[21]

From Richardson's agricultural records for 1870, a harvest chart can be constructed. The new year's planting began with the cultivation of oats in late January. Cranberry plants from the greenhouse were set out in February, and that month saw the planting of peas, corn, potatoes, sugar cane, turnips, radishes and lettuce. The cultivation of cucumbers, watermelons, snap beans, squash, peppers, tomatoes and clover followed in March. The next month planting continued with the introduction of mullet and cotton. All crops were harvested upon maturity. Richardson's diary does not reveal the harvesting of all crops. Many crops were intended as food for the family table, and the records of harvesting these are inconsistent. However, the major crops of cotton, potatoes, and watermelons were usually recorded. It was from these crops that Richardson derived his income. His diary furnished him weather information and enabled him to determine the best planting date. Also Richardson used the technique of the harvest chart to determine the length of the growing season.[22]

The years of the 1870's were years of intermittent drought for Rusk County farmers. Richardson's diary reveals the scarcity of rain, and the farmer's dilemna from the harshness of the weather. On August 14, 1874, Richardson wrote, "Temp. 104. Cotton is drying up. Not a cloud to be seen. The air is *hot* and *stiffling*." Eight days later, on his trip to a meeting of the Grange in Waco, Richardson wrote, "Crops of corn on the route ruined by the Excessive hot & dry weather. Some of the prairies are burnt over. Water scarce for Stock & bad to drink. We suffered much from the hot weather."[23]

Richardson actively participated in the Patrons of Husbandry. He became the first master of the Rusk County chapter of the Grange, and with Motley Johnson represented the Rusk County chapter at the 1874 state meeting in Waco.[24] Throughout his life, Richardson maintained an active interest in the Grange and frequently attended local, regional and state meetings.

Throughout the 1870 decade, Richardson continued his scientific experiments. He wrote letters to horticulturalists and government agencies seeking information. He subscribed to farm journals like the *Southern Cultivator* and saved clippings and articles of interest from magazines and newspapers. Inserted within the pages of his diary, he kept these tidbits of information. These included advertisements for Early Rose Potatoes at $2.50 per bushel from J. A. Ryrie of Alton, Illinois, and Norway oats at $3.00 per bushel from C. C. Phelps of Vernon, New York. The two page pamphlet, "The LeConte Pear" by J. T. Chastain of Thomasville, Georgia, and the undated article by A. J. DeVoe of Hackensack, New Jersey, entitled "Wind and Weather: Ten Short Rules by the Use of Which a Farmer May Become Weather-Wise"[25] undoubtedly influenced Richardson's agricultural practices. The Rusk Countian benefitted from this information; yet, he was not afraid to share his research with other farmers.

Charles Richardson reported his scientific findings to the local population and to the United States Department of Agriculture. For example, in 1878 he reported a cholrea epidemic to the federal government. Richardson recalled:[26]

> Before the war [Civil War] I lived near the Mississippi River in Carroll Parish, Louisiana. A disease called cholrea broke out among the hogs. It was the first epidemic ever seen by the planters in that area. . . . Every form of treatment was used without marked success. . . . I . . . got my family physician to assist me in making a post-mortem examination. The bowels were constipated, and the inflammation of the bowels and stomach were very great. I kept the hogs in a dry inclosure, under the gin-house and cotton-shed. I put tar in the troughs, and fed with corn boiled in lye and copperas water, and pokeroot decoction to drink, and used various other nostrums in vogue without success. I burned the hogs that died. . . .
>
> I have lost some large hogs and pigs this summer [1878] with this epidemic here. The disease appears to be a violent fever, and kills the animals in a very few days. I put one fine hog in a lot where it had a good dry shelter. I tried to doctor it with liquids, but could not tempt it to drink anything. I tried to give it a dose of calomel on a piece of beef, but could not induce it to eat anything at all, and finally gave it up to die. It lay there three or four days in its bed, and after awhile it got up and ate a few mouthfuls of corn, and on butchering it I found the lungs and intestines adhering strongly to the sides, and the intestines also tied in lumps with fine ligaments. On the intestines was a large ball four inches in diameter, filled tight with thick matter like dough.

Richardson concluded that "many nostrums published as cures have been tried with such little success that the farmers now let the disease take its course without attempting to do much of anything; when a hog once refuses to eat, little can be done for him."[27] His efforts to find a successful cure for cholrea had been unsuccessful.

Richardon's experimentation was not limited to livestock. Possessing a curious and inquisitive mind, the pioneer horticulturalist decided to improve his pastures. He corresponded with George H. Hogan of Ennis and from him obtained Texas Blue Grass seed.[28] Experiments were conducted and their results reported to the Department of Agriculture. Richardson discovered that Texas Blue Grass seed was very troublesome to plant. For this reason, he recommended that the best growth of the grass could be obtained from plants originally grown in a greenhouse. In the spring, the farmers could transplant the Blue Grass sets around February 20. He recommended that farmers first plow the ground, then with a narrow shovel, lay off the rows 2-½ feet apart. The sets should be planted about 10 inches apart. In this way, a firm foundation could be established. The result would be a good pasture in a short time.[29]

These reports brought Richardson recognition beyond the borders of his state. He furnished seed to Mark W. Johnson of the Georgia Department of Agriculture. Johnson experienced successful results. Additionally, Richardson received requests for seed and praise for his efforts from numerous farmers in the state.[30]

Richardson joined with Dr. J. D. Woodward of Overton in reporting agricultural conditions in Rusk County for the 1880 census. Woodward and Richardson observed that "the chief crops of this region (Rusk County) are cotton, corn, small cereals, Irish and sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, pease (sic) and a great variety of fruits and vegetables." By this date, Rusk County had started becoming a truck farming area. However, cotton remained the dominant cash crop, as the agricultural observers noted that "all (crops) succeed well on this soil, but about one-half its cultivated area is planted in cotton."[31] This last statement is incorrect, as Richardson's experiments revealed. Not all crops flourished in Rusk County, yet such information could deter migration to the county. No agricultural observer wanted to inform the nation that farm lands in his county were inferior to those of other counties. Local pride produced an understandable bias.

Throughout his remaining years until his death in 1886, Richardson continued his agricultural experiments. For example, he observed that the growth of corn during the day was double the growth at night. He unsuccessfully attempted to cultivate tea plants on a commercial scale. He published his research on the LeConte pear in "The Le Conte Pear Blight in Texas" which appeared in the October 15, 1884, issue of *Texas Farm and Ranch*.[32] Richardson continued his interest in soil conservation in great contrast to the majority of Rusk County farmers who rather than improve their land purchased additional acreage instead.

Richardson was an expert ribbon cane syrup maker. He harvested his cane in the fall, and during November manufactured the cane into syrup. His syrup was sold locally, usually averaging about 75 cents for a gallon. Additionally he made syrup for other Rusk County farmers who did not own a syrup mill. Without doubt, Richardson received some consideration for these services, but he did not record the amount in his diary.[33]

In 1882, he recorded in his diary a record of fresh garden produce consumed during the winter of 1881-1882. That season the Richardson family enjoyed yellow butter, "rich milk," turnips, salad and winter collards, cabbage, eggs and poultry products. Combined with beef, pork, canned vegetables and preserves, the family enjoyed a balanced and nutritious diet. In April, 1882, Richardson observed that I "have had nice yellow butter and nice milk all winter. Every farmer can do likewise, if he will only appreciate good fare."[34]

Throughout the spring months, the Richardson family enjoyed fresh vegetables in abundance. Their diet consisted of cabbage, leeks, lettuce, onions, turnips, asparagus, various varieties of peas, potatoes, beans, beets, early corn, squash and cucumbers. Of course, the family was not vegetarian. Meat was often served on the family table. Richardson was justly proud of these achievements, however, it must be added that many Rusk County families had nutritious diets, but with less variety.[35]

Richardson's income came from the sales of his agricultural produce, his syrup mill and cotton gin. Throughout his life, cotton was raised as a "cash crop," and Richardson usually received the average state-wide price per pound.[36] Additionally, he sold surplus food to other Rusk County residents. The introduction of the International and Great Northern Railroad in 1872 furnished the county with a principal shipping point in Overton. Five years later, a sixteen mile spur line was completed to Henderson, called the Henderson and Overton Branch Railroad.[37]

The introduction of the iron horse to Rusk County benefitted all Rusk County farmers. Now they had modern transportation to market their produce and in turn

received finished products quickly from industrial centers. Richardson shipped cotton to Houston, Shreveport and St. Louis.[38] Fruit was also shipped to these markets and to individuals like J. W. Price of Fort Scott, Kansas.[39] Transportation provided Richardson with the means to acquire finished products for his home and farm. Accordingly he purchased a corn mill, a sewing machine for his wife and Cotswood Sheep for his farm. The railroad aided Richardson by providing better transportation for his produce and his family, especially for his son Porter, who was studying medicine at Bellvue College, New York City.[40]

From 1882 until his death, Charles Richardson experienced ill health. Beset with malaria and declining eye sight, Richardson spent long periods of time in bed. Physical deterioration occurred as his weight fluctuated from 143 pounds to 114 pounds. Nonetheless, with the help of his sons and family, he managed to supervise the operation of his farm. Especially valuable during this time was the help of his son, Randolph Macon Richardson. Following a long illness, Charles Bruce Richardson died on February 10, 1886.[41]

Richardson's life serves as an example of an early pioneer in East Texas horticulture. He carefully kept records concerning planting conditions. Like many farmers he used this information for planting and harvesting crops.

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Richardson was not a slave to the system of one-crop agriculture based on cotton. The Rusk Countian possessed too much scientific interest to limit his interests solely to cotton. Fruit and melons were sold on a regional basis as well as locally. His ribbon cane syrup manufacture was limited to a county-wide basis, however.

Richardson's experimentation with various types of crops stamps him as an extraordinary farmer in his era. An advocate of crop diversification, Richardson's career does not reflect a practioneer of "a-live-at-home-program" of agricultural self-sufficiency,[42] nor was Richardson a cotton specialist who raised corn and other crops solely for home or local use.[43]

Richardson was a pioneer horticulturalist, who was instrumental in developing Texas Blue Grass and making agricultural observations in his area. He was an advocate of crop diversification, practicing his belief through personal example and with a pre-arranged plan of diversification on his farm. An active participant in the local chapter of the Grange and Rusk County Fair Association, he exerted a county-wide influence. His influence spread outside his county through his prize-winning produce at fairs in East Texas. He was a pioneer scientist who experimented with various varieties of fruits and vegetables in East Texas. For these efforts, his reports to the United States Department of Agriculture afforded him a little nation-wide recognition. Certainly, in the realm of Rusk County, Richardson was unsurpassed as a scientific farmer and perhaps as the Henderson *Times* observed "in the sciences of agriculture and horticulture, he had no superior in East Texas and very few equals."[44]

FOOTNOTES

[1]Bell I. Wiley, "Salient Changes in Southern Agriculture Since the Civil War," *Agricultural History*, XIII (April, 1939), 65-76.

[2]E. Merton Coulter, *The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877*, Vol. VIII of *A History of the South* (Baton Rouge, 1947), 212; see also C. Vann Woodward, *The Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*, Vol. IX of *A History of the South* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 182.

[3]John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party* (Minneapolis, 1931), 45-46.

[4]C. Vann Woodward, *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel* (New York, 1938), 130; Theodore Saloutos, *Farmer Movements in the South, 1865-1933* (Berkeley, 1960), 28-29.

[5]Robert A. Calvert, "Nineteenth-Century Farmers, Cotton and Prosperity," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXXIII (Apr 1, 1970), 509-521.

[6]For Texas agriculture see William Bennett Bizzell, *Rural Texas* (New York, 1924), 122-124; Vera Lee Dugas, "A Social and Economic History of Texas in the Civil War and Reconstruction Periods," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1963); Samuel Lee Evans, "Texas Agriculture, 1865-1880," (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Texas, 1955); Samuel Lee Evans, "Texas Agriculture, 1880-1930," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1960); W.C. Nunn, *Texas Under the Carpetbaggers* (Austin, 1962), 135-147; John S. Spratt, *The Road to Spindletop: Economic Changes in Texas, 1975-1901* (Dallas, 1955), 37-185.

[7]Saloutos, *Farmer Movements in the South*, 27; International Harvester Company of New Jersey, *Diversified Farming in Texas* (Chicago, 1915).

[8]Salon J. Buck, *The Granger Movement: A Study of Agricultural Organizations and Its Political, Economic and Social Manifestations, 1870-1880* (Cambridge, 1913), 296. For Texas Grange activities see Spratt, *The Road to Spindletop*, 151-185 and Ralph A. Smith, "The Grange Movement in Texas, 1873-1900," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XLII (April, 1939), 298-315.

[9]Henry Woodfin Grady, *The New South and Other Addresses, Biography, Critical Opinions and Explanatory Notes*. ed. Edna Henry Lee Turpin (New York, 1969).

[10]Rosalind Langston, "The Life of Colonel R. T. Milner," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XLV (July, 1941), 420-421.

[11]W. H. Roane, Magnolia, Miss., to Charles Bruce Richardson, November 28, 1866. The Charles Bruce Richardson Papers are in the personal possession of Miss Bess Richardson of Henderson, Texas. The author of this article gratefully acknowledges Miss Richardson's permission for him to examine the Charles Bruce Richardson Papers.

[12]Robert [Charles] Bruce Richardson Diary and Day Book. mss. The original is in the possession of Miss Bess Richardson. A microfilm copy is in the E. C. Barker

Texas History Center of the University of Texas at Austin. Hereinafter referred to as Charles Richardson diary.

[13]Thomas A. Stowe to C. B. Richardson, May 13, 1863.

[14]Charles Richardson Diary. For a family history of the Charles Bruce Richardson family see Garland Farmer, *The Realm of Rusk County* (Henderson, 1951), 160-165. For a similar account of migration across Louisiana into Texas during the same period see John Q. Anderson (ed.), *Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868* (Baton Rouge, 1955).

[15]Charles Richardson Diary, April 12, 1863.

[16]Samuel Wood Geiser, *Horticulture and Horticulturalists in Early Texas* (Dallas, 1945), 74.

[17]Interview with Miss Bess Richardson, August 29, 1970; Charles Richardson Diary.

[18]Charles Richardson Diary; J. Allen Clark, John H. Martin and Carleton R. Bell, "Classification of American Wheat Varieties," United States Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin*, No. 1074 (Washington, 1922), 205. The Department of Agriculture observed that Tappahannock Wheat, discovered in Tappahannock, Essex County, Virginia, has not been identified. Perhaps Richardson acquired the wheat seed from Virginia relatives.

[19]M. D. Ector to Col. Charles Richardson, March 30, 1868.

[20]Charles Richardson Diary. These varieties were Health Cling, Crawford's Late, Walter's Early, Early Tillotson, Morris Red, Bergen Yellow and October Soft. For further information concerning peaches see James Alexander Fulton, *Peach Culture* (New York, 1912), 194-197; 185-186.

[21]Charles Richardson Diary.

[22]*Ibid.*

[23]*Ibid.*

[24]*Ibid.*

[25]*Ibid.*

[26]Farmer, *The Realm of Rusk County*, 164; U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year: 1877* (Washington, 1878), 454.

[27]U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year: 1877*, 454.

[28]U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture*

for the Year: 1881 (Washington, 1882), 231-232, 252. Texas Blue Grass (*poa arachnifera*) was first described by Dr. John Torrey in the report of William B. Marcy's expedition into the headwaters of the Trinity River in 1852. The grass was named by George Hogan of Ennis, Texas. The grass blooms in late March with seeds ripening by April 15th. The seeds are very small and very difficult to sow because they cling together by means of lint or the covering of webby hairs. The grass produces an abundance of radial leaves about 4 to 8 inches long and 2 inches wide. The culms are 2 to 3 feet high, each with about 2 leaves, with long sheaths and blade.

[29]*Ibid.*; George Vasey, "Grasses of the South: A report of Certain Grasses and Forage Plants for Cultivation in the South and Southwest," United States Department of Agriculture, Botanical Division, *Bulletin,* No. 3 (Washington, 1887), 3.

[30]John S. Wise, Atlanta, Georgia, to CBR, December 18, 1883, June 13, 1884; John Bond, Beaver, Louisiana, to CBR, October 20, 1886; D. F. Burns, Norwood, Missouri, to CBR, August 11, 1885; Austin Robinson, Reagan, Texas, to CBR, January 23, 1885; R. E. Bradford, Troup, Texas, to CBR, 1885; E. H. Hightower to CBR, April 6, 1885; J. S. Kilbourne to CBR, March 23, 1885.

[31]U. S. House Miscellaneous Documents. *Report on the Cotton Production of the State of Texas.* 47d Cong., 2d Sess., 1884, 729-730, 813-831.

[32]Charles Richardson Diary; Geiser, *Horticulture and Horticulturalists in Early Texas,* 74. For additional information about the LeConte Pear see L. H. Bailey (ed.), *The Standard Cyclopedia of Horticulture,* Vol. III (New York, 1947), 2505-2515.

[33]Charles Richardson Diary.

[34]*Ibid.*

[35]*Ibid.*

[36]Texas. *Sixth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture*, November 1, 1913 (Austin, 1913), 53; Charles Richardson Diary.

[37]Dorman Winfrey, *A History of Rusk County, Texas* (Waco, 1961), 55-58, 62-63. Winfrey's study of Rusk County is the best general study of the county. Another noteworthy study is Cecil Richey, "A History of Rusk County," (Unpublished Master's thesis, Stephen F. Austin State College, 1950).

[38]Hiram R. Lott, St. Louis, Missouri, to CBR, August 23, 1875.

[39]Charles Richardson Diary.

[40]*Ibid.*

[41]Farmer, *The Realm of Rusk County,* 163-164. Other sons included Dr. David Porter Richardson, William B. Richardson and John Samuel Richardson.

[42]Salutos, *Farmer Movements in the South, 1865-1933,* 27.

[43]Richardson does not fit the stereotype portrayed by John Spratt in *The Road to Spindletop,* 70.

[44]Geiser, *Horticulture and Horticulturalists in Early Texas,* 74.

THE HOUSTON WORKER: 1865-1890

By Robert E. Zeigler

Herbert Gutman, the prominent labor historian, argues in a recent essay that many commonly held generalizations concerning nineteenth century labor history do not apply to American workers in smaller towns and cities. The assumptions which Gutman challenges are:

> those that insist that the worker was isolated from the rest of society; that the employer had an easy time and a relatively free hand in imposing the new [industrial] disciplines; that the spirit of the times, the ethic of the Gilded Age, worked to the advantage of the owner of industrial property; that workers found little if any sympathy from non-workers; that the quest for wealth obliterated nonpecuniary values; and that industrialists swept aside countless obstacles with great ease.[1]

Gutman argues that small cities and towns maintained traditional pre-industrial values long after such values were discarded in large metropolitan areas. These older values tended to blunt the alienation and the class divisions that industrialism often brought. In small cities people lived and worked together, there was a sense of community in their daily lives, industries and industrialists were often viewed as being outsiders, and workers were an integral part of the community. Gutman uses various examples of sucessful labor activity and of public support for labor organizations to substantiate his findings.[2]

Many of Gutman's conclusions apply to nineteenth century Houston, the major exception being that Houston workers enjoyed few real successful prior to 1900.[3] The failures, however, may to a large degree be attributed to the very absence of alienation which Gutman feels is important in explaining the public empathy with workers, an empathy which helped to limit the strength and power of industrialists. An examination of the working and living conditions of Houston workers during the period from 1865 to 1890 clearly establishes that most workingmen were skilled, relatively well off, and thoroughly integrated into the community. These circumstances served to weaken class divisions and helped to convince the workingman that he shared much in common with other citizens, as in fact he did.

In the quarter century following the Civil War Houston was similar to other, smaller developing urban areas. This is especially true in relation to rapid economic and population growth, and to the corresponding rise of a working class. Between 1870 and 1890 Houston manufacturing establishments increased in number from less than sixty-four to 210, and total capitalization multiplied almost five times, reaching three-and-one-half million dollars by 1890. Annual salaries and wages increased from 160 thousand dollars to one-and-one-third million during the same period. Additionally in the nineteenth century Houston had become an important trading center due to improvements in both water and rail transportation. In April 1876 work was completed on a channel project which allowed a ship drawing nine-and-one-half feet of water to travel Bolivar Channel, through the cut at Morgan's Point and on upstream to Sims Bayou, several miles from the central business district. Soon a

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railroad was in operation from the Sims Bayou terminal point to Houston.[4] Also in 1893 ten railroad companies served Houston.[5] The railroad shops, of which the Houston and Texas Central, the Houston East and West Texas, and the Southern Pacific were most extensive, accounted for the employment of 1,187 men with a monthly pay roll of $72,274.91. In addition the Southern Pacific Company employed "at and entering Houston," 1,262 men receiving wages of $76,886.21 per month.[6]

Industrial and commercial growth attracted immigrants and was in turn stimulated by increases in the population. Houston expanded from a city of 9,382 in 1870 to 27,557 in 1890. The growth rate was relatively consistent, 77 percent between 1870 and 1880 and 66.6 percent in the decade of the 1880's.[7] While total population clearly increased, the percentage of foreign born showed a steady decline, dropping from over 16 percent in 1870 to 11.3 percent in 1890.[8] Blacks, on the other hand, maintained a relatively consistent percentile rank during the late nineteenth century. In 1870 the Negro population in Houston made up 39.3 percent of the total. By 1890 the figure was 37.6 percent.[9]

Economic and population growth obviously increased the prosperity and importance of the city. Additionally it created a demand for labor of all types. Predictively, immediately following the Civil War, many Houstonians, and indeed most Texans, were concerned with the supposed "unreliability" of freedmen and with the companion problem of finding "trustworthy"–non-black–workers.[10] It is true that one immediate objective was to obtain agricultural labor but citizens of cities such as Houston also exhibited an interest in enticing workers. Corporations were planned for the purpose of attracting Europeans to Texas and in 1866 Houstonians were involved in sending representatives to a state wide meeting in Galveston to determine "some immediate and practical plan for the encouragement of immigrants to the state."[11] The Germans of Houston formed an immigration club in the hope of attracting more of that nationality, and as late as 1887 the *Post* reported an enthusiastic meeting of Houstonians held for the purpose of discussing means of luring newcomers.[12] Although the success of these efforts is difficult to determine, the population growth of Houston clearly indicates that something attracted new arrivals to the city. Moreover, many of them were workingmen. Between 1865 and 1880 an average of 28 percent of Houston's population was classed as wage earners.[13]

Despite the increasing number of workers there was a continuing demand for labor. In 1871 the Houston and Great Northern Railroad was actively seeking hands through the columns of the *Galveston Daily News* and in the same year the *News* reported that young men in Houston could always find work, even in "dull" months.[14] Again in 1880 the Texas and New Orleans Railroad was seeking labor and in 1890, according to the *Houston Daily Post*, there was work for everyone at "live and let live prices."[15] The *Post* in 1889 reported painters and cabinet makers so busy they could not keep up with their work and expressed the view--or hope--of many residents, "Truly Houston is the workingman's paradise."[16]

Whether Houston was indeed a "paradise" is somewhat debatable, yet there is little doubt that high demand for labor made the worker a valued citizen.[17] For example, throughout the period from 1865 to 1890 a high average of 47.20 percent–47.33 percent in 1870, 47.06 percent in 1880--of the white laborers were skilled males. Unskilled white males comprised only 20.41 percent of the white work force in 1870 and 18.16 percent in 1880. The remainder of the white male workers were engaged in either semi-skilled jobs and apprenticeships, or were employed in

some sort of lower white collar capacity such as clerks.[18] It is also significant that the high percentage of skilled workers is applicable to all whites, even those of foreign birth.[19] The high proportion of skilled workers meant that a similarly high proportion would enjoy some prestige and status in the community by virtue of possessing a needed trade.

In addition to the evident need for a rather large number of skilled workers in the city other favorable conditions also prevailed. The industries which were most common to Texas--sawmilling, blacksmithing, carpentry, printing, flour and grist milling--and to the Houston area--blacksmithing, bootmaking, carpentry, tinsmithing, and printing--helped during most of the period between 1865 and 1890 to produce an industrial labor force composed of relatively few women.[20] Likewise by 1880 a more nearly adequately supply of adult workers, improved wages, and better educational opportunity, along with the types of industries, served to significantly reduce the ratio of children employed in manufacturing. [21] In 1870 the entire manufacturing work force in Harris County, excluding clerks, consisted of only 583 workers. Of these 5.83 percent were women and 13.21 percent were children. By 1890 there were 2,704 industrial wage earners in Houston alone.[22] The percentages of women and children dropped to 4.5 and 3.06 respectively.[23] There were, however, many workers in the city who were not employed in manufacturing establishments. When all wage earning employment is considered the figures change somewhat. In 1870 white women comprised 7.85 percent of the white wage earners in the city while children made up only 3.38 percent. The percentage figures do, however, represent a small absolute number; there were only 143 white women and children employed in Houston in 1870. By 1880 the percentage of white women had increased to 8.25 percent and white children had dropped to 2.37 percent of the total work force. The figures represent a total of 179 employed white women and children. The number of white women and children employed, while not totally insignificant, is small and clearly indicates that women and child labor, among white workers, was not commonplace.[24]

In addition to the low incidence of female and minor labor and the advantage most whites enjoyed by virtue of their skills, wages in Houston were for the most part on a par with or slightly above state and national levels. In 1870 the average Harris county worker employed in manufacturing establishments received $292 annually or about a dollar a day for a six-day week. This compares favorably with the state average of $225.53 a year but is well below the $377.63 annual income of the average worker in the United States. It is probable, however, that many workers in the city earned substantially more than average. Indeed in 1875 the *Galveston Daily News* reported that salaries of Houston day laborers had only recently been reduced to $1.30 per day.[25] By 1880 the typical Harris County industrial worker's wage had increased to almost $1.30 per day for a six-day week, according to census reports, providing an annual income of $373.80. In the state and nation, on the other hand, the annual averages were $274.94 and $346.90 respectively.[26]

By 1890 the average wage in Houston industries was $1.60 per day or $462.42 annually. This pay was slightly above the state norm of $435.38 a year as well as the national annual average wage of $444.83.[27] There was, however, a substantial difference in the income of men, women, and children. The male operative in the city earned approximately $1.82 daily or $527.90 a year, while a male pieceworker averaged $1.43 a day which amounted to $411.95 annually. Women operatives, on the other hand, made a salary of $1.05 a day, $304.77 a year, while children in the same type jobs received only $.98 a day for a six-day week.[28] Likewise in the 1880's there

was a vast difference in the amount earned by the skilled worker as opposed to the average operative. Statistics compiled by the Texas Knights of Labor indicate that in 1886 the skilled mechanic in Texas, and probably in Houston, earned from $2.75 to $4.50 per day. Assuming steady employment and a six-day week, this would provide an annual income of from $729 to $1296.[29] Although these wages are not exceptional, they are at least as good as those paid in other areas. Also between 1865 and 1890 the average Houston worker had seen his annual wage increase $170.42. Additionally semi-skilled workers and clerks probably earned somewhat better than average pay while the skilled worker, who comprised almost one-half the white work force, was likely to enjoy earnings substantially higher than average.

Regardless of what wage the worker earned, it apparently was not sufficient to afford him the luxury of property ownership. In 1870 only 14.68 percent of the white workers owned real estate and a meager 4.4 percent claimed to have accumulated any personal property.[30] It is possible that home ownership was not common among any group in this period. This supposition is born out by an incessant demand for rent property. Early in 1868 a correspondent to the *Galveston Daily News* complained of high rents in Houston and expressed the thought that lower living cost would encourage immigration.[31] Unfortunately for renters, landlords failed to accept this theory. As industry and population grew rent also increased.[32] In 1893 workers were reportedly leaving Houston because of high housing cost. One of these complained that he was forced to pay $30 a month for a story-and-a-half cottage with six rooms and a bath. To find such accomodations this worker was compelled to live fourteen blocks from his place of employment and spend $2.50 a day for car fare.[33] This complaint may be exaggerated somewhat; newspaper advertisements in the 1890's indicate that five room cottages could be rented for about $15 a month.[34] Even so, with an average wage in 1900 of $503.32 an annual housing cost of $180 would absorb an excessive 35.76 percent of a worker's total annual income. Moreover, in 1890 it cost the average family in the Houston area approximately $260 a year for food. If this is added to the cost of rent the average worker would have only $63.32 remaining for other expenses. Obviously the average were forced to live in a less spacious house and the skilled were often unable to set aside much of their salary.[35] By the mid 1880's, however, at least some workers had managed to accumulate some personal savings.

High living cost had other effects. Some tenants, especially those of limited income, were driven to adopt the expedience of moving from house to house leaving unpaid landlords in their wake. The unskilled were no doubt reduced to living in buildings such as one in the fourth ward described by a reporter for the *Galveston News* in 1885. The structure, according to the newsman, looked as if it had stood for generations without paint or repair. The roof "was bent and [the] shingles [were] rotten and displaced while [the] shutters hung loose from their broken fastenings."[36] The building was of several stories and the stairs were "narrow and rickety," almost "ladderlike."[37] The rooms "were bare of furniture except filthy-looking beds, trunks, and a few rickety chairs and washstands."[38] The reporter summed up his revulsion by concluding that "the whole scene could not do otherwise than inspire disgust in a well regulated person."[39]

The worker, despite the fact that at times he paid high rent and lived in substandard housing, was thoroughly integrated into the community. In 1870 all wards contained a relatively equal proportion of workingmen, ranging from 39.16 percent in ward one to 31.72 percent in ward five. By 1880, because of increasing

industrialization in the northern part of the city, the fifth ward contained a higher proportion of workers–30.30 percent--than any other ward in Houston. This trend continued and after 1880 wards one and five, both in the northern part of Houston, became the ones in which the working class was the most influential.[40] This is not to say, however, that the majority of workers lived in these two wards. Indeed in 1870 and 1880 most laborers – 62.80 percent in 1870, 59.10 percent in 1880 – lived in wards three and four. Rather it appears that after 1880 workers became more numerous in relation to the entire population of the first and fifth wards and therefore could exert more influence on ward politics.[41]

Thus workingmen in Houston earned at least an average wage and many probably made more than average, they lived in all parts of the city, and most found it unnecessary--or perhaps impossible because of the nature of the economy–to have wives and children employed outside the home. Yet despite the favorable conditions enjoyed by the Houston worker, many were unable to save much money and were also forced to endure other hardships. Most wage earners probably worked at least ten hours a day and six days a week, while some labored for eleven or twelve hours a day.[42] The effects of long hours and an absence of adequate safety precautions is clearly illustrated by the number of accidents in which workers were involved. Throughout the period between 1865 and 1890, the press makes frequent reference to mishaps, especially on trains and in railroad shops.[43] Accidents occurred for a variety of reasons. At times the employee failed to take proper precautions; on other occasions employees were to blame for not providing properly functioning equipment and facilities. Regardless of who or what was at fault for accidents which resulted in a worker's temporary injury, permanent disability, or death, he and his family had little beyond their own resources to fall back on. The skilled worker, if he belonged to a union, might receive some aid from his fellows; others were left entirely to the mercy of voluntary charity or to dependence on family or friends.

Additionally, laborers, especially the unskilled, were subject to the intermittent fluctuations in the financial condition of single corporations in the state and nation. Although times were relatively good until 1890, railroad workers, and possibly others, suffered periodic unemployment. In 1875 and 1886 the Houston and Texas Central reduced its work force; in 1877 The Central Road reduced wages and employees. Likewise in 1884 the Galveston, Harrisburg, and San Antonio Railroad twice laid off hands because of limited traffic, and in 1885 the Sunset Route cut the wages of office clerks.[44] While these examples appear isolated and in some instances are explainable by slumps which occurred in the national economy, similar incidents were probably not uncommon. Moreover, isolated or not, such cutbacks on the part of businesses were very real to the effected worker who could take little comfort in being either an isolated case or the victim of a nation wide recession. In addition to those who were temporarily unemployed due to dips in the business cycle, there is evidence of the continuing presence of a frequently jobless, permanent lower class which constantly moved from place to place, city to city. As the noted historian of nineteenth century urban and workingclass development Stephen Thernstrom has pointed out:

> We know very little about these people, and it is difficult to know how we can learn much about them. You get only occasional glimpses...in the person of the tramp....[45]

Throughout the period of 1865 to 1890, and indeed until 1914, there are numerous reports complaining of vagrants in Houston, certainly enough to verify that this class of workingman was present and was considered a nuisance in the city.[46]

Workers also suffered from developments in the financial affairs of the city, developments which did not directly threaten the laborer's job but which could destroy the savings of a life time in the space of a few days or weeks. This sort of threat was both more subtle and less comprehensible than unemployment. When a man was laid off as an economic necessity he could at least rationalize some need for his loss and could, usually with justification, look forward to better times in the near future. When a bank or savings company failed, the worker saw his financial reserve or perhaps his property, both of which were uncommon under the best of conditions, wiped out in one fatal swoop. Adding to the hardship was the fact that those who lost the most were workers who were older, who had been employed a sufficient number of years to accumulate some savings.

One such calamity occurred in 1886. Late in 1885 the City Bank of Houston failed and this precipitated a run on the Houston Savings Bank.[47] On February 27, 1886, the *Galveston Daily News* reported that the Savings Bank, previously thought to be on firm financial footing, had not opened its doors on the morning of the twenty-sixth.[48] Most of the bank's depositers were wage earners, and the sentiment expressed by one dismayed laborer, "D–n banks on general principle. D–n poor government that can't protect its people from their outrages,"[49] was probably felt by all.[50] Newspapers reported the depositers "much depressed in spirits and...bitter in their language."[51] Perhaps the report was referring to the worker who was quoted as saying, "If this sort of think is not soon stopped, men will be marching the streets with the red flag at the head of them."[52]

No red flags were seen, however. Instead on October 1, 1886, it was announced that depositors would be paid off at thirty percent. The report carried with it the hope that another payment would be made at some later date.[53] Additionally a Houston wholesale grocer, William D. Cleveland, offered to pay off all interest deposits of $100 or less. Cleveland said he knew most depositers "[were] persons of very limited means, to [whom] the loss [was] a serious hardship, and in some cases a real calamiity."[54] He felt his contribution would allow him to be of "some service to [his] fellow man."[55] Cleveland's service cost him the tidy sum of $11,326.[56] Obviously such a magnamious gesture was exceptional; however, it is indictive of the good will which often existed between wage earners and businessmen.

Most workers, with the aid of men like Cleveland, managed to adjust to the uncertainities and hardships of their day to day lives. Some, however, vented their frustrations by indulging in bouts of drinking and violence, in seeking solace from prostitutes and preachers, or in the ultimate escape of suicide. It was a common occurrence for Houston workers to be arrested for drunkenness. Many merely indulged too freely on their way home from work; others deliberately embarked upon binges of several days duration. Often drunkenness led to violence. Such incidents ranged from fist fights to murder.[57] Occasionally distraught workers gave expression to their frustrations in rather comical yet revealing actions. In 1888 two railroad laborers were arrested for "disturbing the peace." They had "imbided too freely" and were discovered throwing rocks at the Santa Fe Depot.[58] This futile and childish gesture well expresses the sheer hopelessness many workers must have felt at being threatened by the business cycle and the faceless corporation.

For those who craved variety other means of escape were available. Revivals were held frequently and probably added a welcome break in the workers often monotonous daily routine. Vice, especially prostitution, was also common and did no doubt provide yet another means of escaping the reality of day to day existence.[59] Some distraught members of the working class elected the final form of escape, suicide. The daily press frequently contains reports of laborers taking their own lives. Often the reports would contain brief, yet poignant statements such as "deceased was in reduced circumstances," "the supposed cause, destitution," "did so because he was unable to find steady employment," "victim said he was out of work and broke and wanted to die."[60]

It is of course obvious that most wage earners did not kill themselves, and that many did not seek solace in excessive drink or mindless vice. The fact remains, however, that a number–although we cannot say how large a number–did engage in these actions. The insecurity the worker lived with in the nineteenth century, combined with his lack of understanding of the economy, or for that matter of the single corporation for which he worked, must have left him at times disillusioned, at times frustrated, and often angry. It is surprising that there was not more suicide, more crime, and more violence. Surprising at least until one recalls that the worker knew nothing else, thus he, like most Americans, learned to live with his hardships. Indeed as hard as his lot was it may well have been better than the conditions the European immigrant had endured in the old country or those which the rural immigrant had suffered on the farm.[61] Also the brunt of such conditions was born by a minority of white workers; the skilled could avoid the more unbearable conditions. Moreover, the Houston worker could not have viewed his situation as unique. All citizens were subject to economic setbacks, accidents, and other hardships. Insecurity was a fact of life for most Houstonians, and this may well have led to a feeling of sameness or a sense of community among workers and non-workers.

Likewise, the worker in Houston found it natural to accept the values of the Gilded Age. These values of law, order, and hard work were equated with civic duty, patriotism, and Christianity. Additionally economic benefit, acceptance in society, and the respect of both peers and community leaders would and did come, even if in rather small doses, to those who accepted and lived by community mores.[62] Also skilled workers, who made up almost half of white wage earners, gained more from the system than did the unskilled and were therefore probably looked to as leaders. Their success was testimony to the value of living according to accepted patterns. Moreover, the successful–the semi-skilled, the craftsman, and the white collar workers–were in the majority, this fact serving to increase both the worker's faith in the system and the larger communities belief that most wage earners were fellow citizens, not merely a "commodity." Rather than working solely to the benefit of the businessman, these values helped to make the worker a part of the community and served to provide him with some of the fruits of capitalistic activity.

Also helping to keep workers satisfied was the fact that community values did not reject workingmen's organizations. Indeed Houstonians, beginning in 1866, established unions which enjoyed rather rapid and sustained growth. By 1885 there were 1,190 organized workers in Houston, approximately 32.66 percent of the total work force. Of these 740 were Knights of Labor, and 370 belonged to the more exclusive trade unions.[63] All these unions gave workingmen a legitimate voice and were, from all available evidence, viewed by most citizens as acceptable social, civic, and economic organizations. To keep this reputation workingmen had to conduct themselves in a responsible manner, and for the most part they did.

Responsibility did not mean inaction. Political activity on the part of labor began early. In 1867 the *Galveston Daily News* reported that the majority of aldermen chosen in the previous city election were "mechanics."[64] In 1878 men endorsed by workers, after a split in the ranks of the Greenback Labor Party, won the positions of assessor-collector and alderman for ward two.[65] In 1886 Houston Knights of Labor, using what they called "Democratic Pressure", forced the city Democrats to nominate municipal candidates by convention rather than by committee.[66] Knights also used their influence to elect an alderman in 1884 and a mayor, D. C. Smith, in 1886 and 1888.[67] Such victories are clearly indicative of the worker's place in the community. Political success seldom comes to the alienated victims of industrialism.

In relation to traditional labor action Houston workers were active although they had not yet achieved sufficient unity to sustain a long walkout or to gain adequate support from workers not directly affected by the question at issue. Despite these weaknesses, workingmen who entered into strikes were not automatically condemned by the public, probably because they conducted themselves in an acceptable manner. For example, in 1872 employees of the Houston and Texas Central struck for higher wages. In the course of the futile two-week strike the men made every effort to prevent violence, advocated nothing stronger than social ostrocism for strike-breakers, and received some support from the public. The strike failed simply because the road was able to hire new men. [68] In 1883 Houston telegraphers, probably not more than twenty in number, went out as part of a national strike. They secured the support of the Knights of Labor, received donations from the public, and even attempted to "discover and convict" persons who were sabotaging company equipment. Again the availability of men who were willing to break the strike caused the workers defeat.[69] In 1886 brakemen on the Southern Pacific went out in an effort to gain higher wages. After approximately five days the road began to lay off laborers and clerks, and soon 250 men in Houston were out of work. Despite this type of pressure, the workers refrained from violence and were, in less than a week, successful in winning their demands.[70] The features of these strikes–responsible behavior, poor organization, and frequently, defeat–are evident in others in the same period.

These defeats may be attributed, however, to the very characteristics of the worker's life which brought him benefits. Because he was often skilled, generally responsible, usually able to organize without opposition, and an intregal part of the community, the Houston worker had a variety of loyalties. He was loyal to his city, his friends and neighbors, his family, his political party, his church, and no doubt to numerous other groups. The loyalties at times conflicted. When a conflict did occur the workingman, because of his position in the community, often found other interests more compelling than labor solidarity. Had he been alienated and persecuted a stronger class consciousness may have developed and more success in the sense of acting in accord with other workers might have been more quickly achieved.

The fact is that many Houston workers were skilled, made a fairly good wage, were usually able to avoid the social hardships of having their entire family employed, lived all over the city under conditions which were probably not a great deal worse than those of other citizens, and, judging from their actions, were a responsible part of the community. There is no evidence to indicate that any significant number of white workers made up an alienated class; conditions actually served to make the opposite true. As a result labor activity was not necessarily viewed with hostility or suspicion on the part of the larger community. Instead of carrying the odious brand of "radicals" or "labor agitators" Houston wage earners were probably looked upon as friends or acquaintances who made worthwhile contributions to the prosperity of the

city.[71] All of these many features of the worker's life helped to create, in Houston, Texas, the sense of community which Gutman suggests existed in many nineteenth century American towns and cities.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Herbert G. Gutman, "The Worker's Search for Power," in *The Gilded Age* edited by H. Wayne Morgan (Syracuse, N.Y., 1970), 33. For a brief survey of the status of Texas Labor History see F. Ray Marshall, "Some Reflections on Labor History," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXXV, 137-157. One may question Marshall's insistence that there are a "number" of studies on various aspects of Texas labor history. Marshall cites seventeen such studies, many of them being unpublished theses and dissertations. It is also curious that Marshall fails to mention the opportunity for research provided by the Texas Labor Archives, University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, Texas.

[2]Gutman, "The Worker's Search for Power," 31-54.

[3]The inclusive dates 1865 to 1890 are chosen because the labor movement in Houston began in 1866. In 1889 the Houston Labor Council was established and the movement entered a new phase. Thus 1890 is a logical closing date. Also Gutman's study, and therefore the basis for comparison, deals exclusively with the nineteenth century.

[4]*Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Manufactures,* 572; Mary Alice Lavender, "Social Conditions in Houston and Harris County, 1869-1872" (M.A. Thesis, Rice University, 1950), 27; *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890, Manufactures,* II, 250; *Houston City Directory 1887-1888* (Houston, 1888), 333-357. The total industries in the 1890 census do not always correspond with the figures given for individual industries. Attempts were made to correct the errors in totals, but in view of the error in totals there may be errors in the individual industry statistics also. Therefore the figures for Houston in 1890 may be incorrect. Considering that there were 145 establishments in Houston in 1900, the 1890 figures may be inflated or the Panic of 1893 which did hit hard in the city may account for the decline. See also Marilyn McAdams Sibley, *The Port of Houston: A History* (Austin, 1968), 100-101. This work is an excellent history of the entire ship channel project.

[5]*Houston City Directory 1892-1893* (Houston, 1892-1893), 76-81.

[6]*Houston Daily Post,* September 25, 1891.

[7]*Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Population,* III, 852.

[8]*Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Population,* 272, 273; *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890, Population,* I, 608-611. In 1890 the four top foreign groups were Germans with 46.4 percent of the total foreign population, English, 12.6 percent, Irish 15.1 percent, and Italians 6.3 percent.

[9]*Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Population,* 272-273; *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890, Population,* I, 540-549.

[10]See the *Galveston Daily News,* June 22, 1866, February 12, 1868, September 8, 1869, for examples of the fear of black labor and the desire to locate another source.

[11]*Galveston Daily News,* May 26, 1866. See also Fred C. Cole, "The Texas Career of Thomas Affleck" (Ph.D. dissertation, L.S.U., 1942).

[12]*Galveston Daily News,* June 24, 1871; *Houston Daily Post,* December 17, 1887.

[13]Ninth Census of the United States, Manuscript Returns, Houston, Harris County, Texas, 1870; Tenth Census of the United States, Manuscript Returns, Houston, Harris County, Texas, 1880. The exact figure is 28.27 percent. Manuscript returns from 1890 were destroyed by fire. Thus there is no way to determine the total number of wage earners in that year. The census summary provides only the statistics for manufacturing establishments. The 28.27 percent figure is misleading. In 1870, 27.39 percent of the white population were wage earners while 53.10 percent of the blacks were workers. In 1880, 16.81 percent of the white population was wage earners, while 33.90 percent of the blacks were workers.

[14]*Galveston Daily News,* April 6, 1871, July 20, 1871.

[15]*Ibid.,* July 23, 1880; *Houston Daily Post,* May 23, 1890.

[16]*Houston Daily Post,* August 8, 1889.

[17]Black workers were largely relegated to the position of unskilled labor and constitute a distinct group, differing from both native and foreign born whites.

[18]Ninth Census of the United States, Manuscript Returns, Houston, Harris County, Texas, 1870; Tenth Census of the United States, Manuscript Returns, Houston, Harris County, Texas, 1880. Workers who listed themselves as having a trade were considered skilled. A few types of employment such as "apprentice carpenters", "draymen", and the like were classed as semi-skilled. Unskilled workers include such listings as "laborers", "railroad laborers", "wood cutters", etc.

[19]The Irish are the only foreign born group with a high percentage of unskilled workers–36.66 percent in 1870, 54.76 percent in 1880. However, these figures are not especially significant in light of the small number of Irish workers in the city. There were 90 in 1870 and 84 in 1880.

[20]The 1870 and 1880 census summaries provide manufacturing only for Harris County, not Houston. For comparisons sake, Harris County is used.

[21]*Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Manufactures,* 573-574; *Eleventh Census of the United States 1890: Manufactures,* II, 174-181, 226-229, 250-253, 526-533. Most Harris County women were employed in cotton bag factories, an overall factory, bakeries, laundries, and after the telephone became common, by the phone company. Children in Harris County were employed by foundries, bakeries, lumber concerns, and printing shops. At times census reports designate children as males under sixteen and females under 15. At other times all under sixteen considered children. In evaluating manuscript returns, all under sixteen years of age were considered children.

[22]*Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Manufactures,* 572. *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Manufactures,* 5, 9, 360; *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Manufactures,* I, 68, 69; II, 250.

[23]*Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Manufactures,* 572. *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Manufactures,* 5, 9, 360; *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Manufactures,* I, 66, 69; II, 250.

[24]Ninth Census of the United States, Manuscript Returns, Houston, Harris County, Texas, 1870; Tenth Census of the United States, Manuscript Returns, Houston, Harris County, Texas, 1880.

[25]*Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Manufactures,* 572, 392; *Galveston Daily News,* December 3, 1875. Wage statistics for this period include clerks as company officers; therefore, they are not included with wage earners. In computing the total workers from manuscript returns the author did include clerks because in Houston this group formed unions and seemed to identify more closely with labor than with management.

[26]*Tenth Census of the United States: 1880: Manufactures,* 5, 9, 360.

[27]*Eleventh Census of the United States 1890, Manufactures,* I, 67-69; II, 250. These figures were based upon the 1890 census summary which appears to be inflated as to total establishments and workers for Houston but more accurate when average wages are concerned.

[28]*Ibid.,* II, 250. The state average for male wage earners was $456.10 a year, $253.07 for women, and $125.37 for children. Nationally the average was $498.71 for men, $267.97 for women, and $137.53 for children.

[29]District Assembly No. 78, Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the First Annual Session* (Fort Worth, Texas, 1886), 15. The wages given, with the exception of the 1886 figures, are based upon census reports of average annual wages. The daily pay scale is, therefore, figured on a six day week and assumes steady employment. This may well mean that daily wages are somewhat deflated. The Knights of Labor report lists painters, tinners, carpenters, brick masons, stone masons, stone cutters, printers, engineers, blacksmiths, "and all trades" as "skilled mechanics."

[30]Ninth Census of the United States, Manuscript Returns, Houston, Harris County, Texas, 1870. The 1880 manuscript returns do not designate property ownership. In 1890, 33.21 percent of all families in Houston owned their homes, yet a Bureau of Labor Statistics Report (Texas) for 1913-1914 lists only 9.73 percent of the 13,108 Harris County workers reporting were home owners.

[31]*Galveston Daily News,* March 28, 1868.

[32]*Ibid.,* September 3, 1868, February 21, 1871.

[33]*Houston Daily Post,* August 21, 1893.

[34]*Ibid.,* November 19, 1893; October 26, 1895.

[35]*Ibid.,* April 16, 1887. Ruth A. Allen, *East Texas Lumber Workers: An Economic and Social Picture* (Austin, 1961), 125.

[36]*Galveston Daily News,* August 23, 1885.

[37]*Ibid.*

[38]*Ibid.*

[39]*Ibid.* The reporter happened to see the building because of a murder which occurred there. The reporter was, however, clearly as disgusted by the filth of the building as he was by the murder scene.

[40]Ninth Census of the United States, Manuscript Returns, Houston, Harris County, Texas, 1870. Tenth Census of the United States, Manuscript Returns, Houston, Harris County, Texas, 1880. The census taken in 1880 combined part of ward four with ward one. Thus the percentages of workers in one and four is uncertain.

[41]Newspaper stories throughout the period refer to the fifth and first as the wards in which workers exerted the most influence. Ninth Census of the United States, Manuscript Returns, Houston, Harris County, Texas, 1870. The 1880 figures are approximations only due to the peculiarity of the census taker. See Footnote 36. Foreign born and blacks were also evenly dispersed throughout the wards. However, manuscript census returns do indicate black pockets of several blocks within wards.

[42]This is a guess and probably a conservative one. In 1909 nine or ten hours a day and a six day week was the norm. By 1914 eight or nine hours and six days a week was common. See Texas Bureau of Labor Statistics, First Report 1909-1910, 172-173, 226-232; Texas Bureau of Statistics, Third Report 1913-1914, 48-50, 82-83; B. H. Carroll, Jr., *Standard History of Houston, Texas* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1912), 307-312.

[43]For examples see *Galveston Daily News,* March 24, 1867, November 15, 1868, April 30, 1873; June 28, 1873, November 23, 1882; September 16, 1885; *Houston Daily Post,* July 2, 1889; May 16, 1892. These are merely examples of numerous reports of accidents carried in the local press.

[44]*Galveston Daily News,* July 16, 1875, January 15, 1886, April 5, 1877, May 31, 1885. *Houston Daily Post,* January 16, 1884, March 19, 1884.

[45]Stephen Thernstrom, "Urbanization, Migration, and Social Mobility in Late Nineteenth-Century America," in *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History,* edited by Barton J. Bernstein (New York: 1968), 169.

[46]See *Galveston Daily News,* November 9, 1867, March 19, 1874, January 16, 1876, September 17, 1880, December 4, 1885, October 1, 1911, December 18, 1911; *Houston Daily Post,* January 11, 1889, for reports of tramps. These are merely examples of numerous similar reports. There were 1,344 vagrants arrested in 1902, 704 in 1908.

[47]*Galveston Daily News,* December 20, 1885.

[48]*Ibid.,*. February 17, 1886.

[49]*Ibid.,* March 5, 1886.

[50]*Ibid.,* February 27, 1886.

[51]*Ibid.,* February 28, 1886.

[52]*Ibid.,* February 27, 1886.

[53]*Ibid.*, October 21, 1886, November 4, 1886.

[54]*Ibid.*, March 11, 1886.

[55]*Ibid.*

[56]*Ibid.* It is interesting to note that Cleveland had not always been a friend to all workers. In January, 1886, at a meeting of the Knights of Labor District Assembly No. 78 a resolution was proposed by Houston delegates declaring a boycott against *The Houston Age,* an anti-labor paper, and condemning "Mr. W. D. Cleveland... who had come to the assistance of said paper...." See District Assembly No. 78, Knight of Labor, *Proceedings of the First Annual Session,* 1886. Workers were of course also subject to the loss of their homes and other property by the frequent fires which occurred in the city. Daily newspapers made frequent reports of such occurences.

[57]For some examples of drunkenness and violence involving workers see *Galveston Daily News,* March 30, 1873, April 2, 1873, April 11, 1873, May 6, 1874, June 20, 1874, December 16, 1874, August 7, 1875, December 29, 1876. *Houston Daily Post,* December 30, 1883, September 10, 1893.

[58]*Houston Daily Post,* August 30, 1888

[59]*Galveston Daily News,* July 23, 1875, August 5, 1875, March 17, 1886, May 4, 1886. *Houston Daily Post,* June 25, 1895, July 2, 1895, September 17, 1895. Numerous revivalists ministered to the entire population. "Sin Killer" Griffin worked exclusively with blacks.

[60]See *Houston Daily Post,* July 4, 1894, December 25, 1888; *Galveston Daily News,* March25, 1873, February 23, 1873, November 19, 1875, May 7, 1887, June 9, 1880, June 14, 1875, November 6, 1874.

[61]For support of this view of the reason for workingman complacency see Thernstrom, "Urbanization, Migration, and Social Mobility in Nineteenth Century America."

[62]The dislike of "radicalism" or "agitators" by most nineteenth century Americans is obvious. This does not mean that workers could not take steps to correct abuse, but the steps had to be in accordance with other values. Workers were forced to operate within the framework of public opinion and to be successful had to court public sympathy.

[63]The percentage is based upon the work force in 1880. It was larger in 1885 thus the percentage is possibly inflated. Also eighty of the workers belonged to the Ancient Order of United Workmen which was more of a benevolent organization than a traditional union. Also a worker might belong to a trade union and to a local of the Knights of Labor. In 1885 there were five assemblies of Knights in Houston and one in Harrisburg with a combined membership of 740. There were seven trade organizations with a membership of 370. The Ancient Order was comprised of about eighty members. *Galveston Daily News,* October 25, 1885; Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the First Annual Session of D.A. No. 78, 4-5; Houston City Directory 1884-1885* (Houston: 1885), 344-347: *Galveston Daily News,* October 25, 1885.

[64]*Galveston Daily News,* January 10, 1867.

[65]*Ibid.*, January 7, 1879, March 11, 1880.

[66]*Ibid.*, February 19, 1886, February 23, 1886.

[67]*Houston Daily Post,* March 18, 1888, March 15, 1888, April 8, 1888, November 17, 1886, December 23, 1887, February 2, 1888, March 7, 1888; *Galveston Daily News,* March 3, 1886, April 8, 1886.

[68]*Galveston Daily News,* June 6, 1872, June 9, 1872, June 12, 1872, June 7, 1872, June 8, 1872, June 11, 1872; *Houston Daily Telegraph,* June 8, 1872. See also Reese, "Early History of Labor Organizations in Texas," 16-17.

[69]*Houston Daily Post,* July 18, 1883, July 26, 1883, July 27, 1883, July 28, 1883, July 31, 1883, August 2, 1883, August 19, 1883.

[70]*Galveston Daily News,* February 15, 1886, February 21, 1886, February 17, 1886, February 19, 1886, February 18, 1886, February 20, 1886. There are other strikes which occurred during the period between 1865 and 1890, most of which follow a similar pattern. The major exceptions are strikes involving blacks. When these occurred, public opinion was often more hostile and the city was much more inclined to call out troops for protection. Troops did not, however, actually break even these strikes. See Zeigler, "Minorities in the Houston Labor Movement."

[71]See Robert E. Zeigler, "The Houston Labor Movement 1865-1914" (unpublished paper read at the fall meeting of the East Texas Historical Association, October 9, 1971).

EAST TEXAS COLLOQUY

by Bobby H. Johnson

The *Journal* continues to receive news of historical activities throughout East Texas. Numerous county and local groups are pursuing the past with considerable zeal, and the *Journal* is happy to print pertinent information dealing with the heritage and history of our region. Please address such material to: The Editor, *East Texas Historical Journal*, SFA, Box 6223, Nacogdoches, Texas 75961.

The Smith County Historical Society reports progress toward the re-writing of its constitution following the December, 1971, meeting. Other business included a report from the nominating committee, consisting of Loy J. Gilbert, James L. Wilkins, and Mrs. C. E. Gayle. New members of the Smith County group for 1972 include: Miss Jean Allen of Tyler and Homer Brelsford of Bullard. Further news from Tyler indicates the opening of a genealogical section of the Carnegie Public Library, under sponsorship of the Mary Tyler Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Local members will operate a room from 1 to 5 p.m. on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and they are eager to acquire any books and materials that might be helpful in genealogical research.

Members of the Polk County Historical Survey are to be congratulated for winning Distinguished Service Awards following the 1971 meeting of the Texas Historical Survey Committee and Texas Historical Foundation. The Polk County Survey also reports the acquisition of a collection of 23 fans from Alice Lindsay Freel of Houston. They will be displayed at the museum in Livingston, along with other artifacts acquired by the Survey Committee. The 1971 Scrapbook may also be examined at the museum.

The Jefferson County Historical Survey Committee sends word of a planned dedication of the Fort Manhassett Historical Marker on the site of the Fort six and a half miles west of Sabine Pass on State Highway 87. Ralph Ramos of Channel 4 News was scheduled to serve as master of ceremonies and state Sen. D. Roy Harrington was to deliver the dedicatory address, "Fort Manhassett and the Men Who Fought There." Mrs. W. F. Fredeman of Port Arthur is chairman of the Jefferson County group.

From northeast Texas comes news of the varied activities of the Bowie County Historical Survey Committee, which is presided over by Mrs. Arthur L. Jennings of Texarkana. The Texarkana Historical Museum enjoyed a successful opening and is now welcoming visitors at its quarters in the Offenhauser Building, 219 State Line. The Bowie County Survey Committee also takes pride in having received the Distinguished Service Award. Members of the committee in addition to Mrs. Jennings, are Judge Robert Dalby, Arthur Jennings, Mrs. Lyles M. Burch, Henry E. Fagan, Mrs. Kelley Varner, Mrs. Herbert McClure, Sr., Mrs. R. M. Davis, Mrs. Raymond Lutz, Mrs. Claude Phillips, Mrs. Ben Wilson, and Lloyd Wilson.

The Bowie County marker has been placed in the Roadside Park five miles west of New Boston. The marker reads:

> Bowie County named for James Bowie (1799-1836), who fought for Texas Independence from 1819, when he joined Long's expedition, to 1836 when he died in defense of the Alamo, Inhabited before 1800 by Agriculture Indians, charter 1819 of Anglo-American settlement, this was created Dec. 17, 1840; organized Feb. 1, 1841. County seats: DeKalb, Old Boston, Texarkana, and Boston. Forceful citizens joined in beginning railroad construction in 1857. Economy is based on Agriculture, lumber, manufacturing. Erected by State of Texas–1971.

Another marker, commemorating the town of Nash, has also been erected with the assistance of the Bowie County group. This marker reads:

> Begun about 1873; first named "T. C. Junction" for its location on Transcontinental Division of Texas & Pacific Railroad. In 1884 Post Office was established and named "Park", after Dr. J. N. Parker, the first postmaster.
>
> First School started in 1885 in single room. New buildings have been erected in honor of Martin Manny Nash, Division Superintendent of Texas & Pacific. Noted resident was Dr. Joseph Abner Dodd (1871-1944), who served 6 terms in Texas House of Representatives. Present town population stands at 2,000.

The State Historical Association held its mid-year meeting at Marshall and Jefferson in November, 1971. Sponsored by TSHA and the Harrison County Historical Association, the meeting featured events in both Marshall and Jefferson. The Marshall portion of the meeting included tours of the restored Ginnochio Hotel and Old Courthouse Museum.

The courthouse plaza in Tyler was the scene of a marker dedication in honor of W. C. Stallings of the Dixie community, this past November 11. Stallings was the first county agent in the nation employed to serve only one county. He was hired in 1906 by the Tyler Commercial Club and the U.S. Department of Agriculture. During his tenure, Stallings worked with some 600 farmers to bring about large increases in cotton and corn productions.

The City of San Antonio and the San Antonio Conservation Society sponsored a seminar on historic conservation in San Antonio, January 28, 1972. Purpose of the meeting was to consider enabling legislation concerning historical conservation and to

suggest revisions in local, state, and federal laws to encourage investors in conservation. Speakers included Luis Sifuentes, architect and businessman from San Juan, Puerto Rico; Harvey Hardy of San Antonio; A. D. Moore, Jr., of Beaumont; and U. S. Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez.

The American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Texas is seeking information on burial places and residences of American Revoluntionary veterans in Texas. This information will be included in a bibliography and memorabilia check list to be printed and circulated in schools and repositories across the state. Mrs. Gene Riddle, Association Director, requests that information be submitted to:

PERIODICALS DEPT

ARBC of Texas
P. O. Box 12366, Capitol Station
Austin, Texas 78711

APR 25 1972

LIBRARY

SFA STATE UNIVERSI

A consultant service for history museums has been established by the American Association for State and Local History. Funded by an $27,000 grant from the Smithsonian Institution, the consultant program will furnish technical assistance to inventive but understaffed museums. Preference will be given to a majority of the 2,000 history museums having minimal budget and staffing. Inquiries should be addressed to the American Association for State and Local History, 1315 Eighth Avenue South, Nashville, Tennessee 37203.

The following note has been received from Mrs. Charles Martin informing the Association of the passing of Mrs. Will Bridges of Roganville. Mrs. Bridges was a member of the Board of Directors.

We are saddened to note that Mrs. W. H. Bridges of Roganville recently passed away. Grace Richardson Bridges was born on September 24, 1900, at Silsbee, Texas, the daughter of Benjamin and Ella Cowart Richardson. She moved at an early age to Roganville where she grew up. After attending Southwest Texas Normal Institute in San Marcos, Mrs. Bridges married William Henry Bridges of Houston in April, 1919. Living in Houston, Austin, and Youngstown, Ohio, Mr. and Mrs. Bridges moved to their country home near Roganville in 1936 where he died in 1956.

Mrs. Bridges was always interested in Texas and local history. Her home at Roganville, built in 1840, was awarded the Texas historic medallion in 1966. On the grounds are two champion trees–an Eastern red cedar that is a state champion and a crepe myrtle that is a national champion. She was first active chairman of the Jasper County Historical Survey Committee and continued to work with that group until her death. She was a charter member of the East Texas Historical Association, a member of its board of directors, and a member of the Tejas Chapter, Daughters of the Republic of Texas in Beaumont.

Survivors are two sister, Mrs. George Blake of Hattisburg, Mississippi, and Mrs. A. L. Myers of Tyler, one nephew, three nieces, and numberless friends. She died December 22, 1971 at her home in Roganville. We shall miss her.

BOOK REVIEWS

Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America. By J. Leitch Wright, Jr. Athens (University of Georgia Press), 1971. Pp. xiii, 257. $10.00.

J. Leitch Wright, Jr. has written a solid, well-researched book that is unfortunately not as broad as his title indicates. He begins his study of Anglo-Spanish rivalry at the start of the sixteenth century and continues through Spain's cession of Florida to the United States in 1819, concentrating on the southeastern United States. He ignores the other flank of English penetration--the Mississippi after 1763--in which Texas was an outpost of the Spanish Empire and Nacogdoches a forward point of that outpost.

The English moved slowly down the coast of Virginia to the Carolinas and finally to Georgia, and Spanish opposition grew in intensity as the English neared St. Augustine, guardian of the route of the treasure fleets. After the late seventeenth century the Spanish in St. Augustine and Apalachee, and the English, based at Charleston with outposts in Georgia, fought a continuous backwoods war through their Indian allies. Each sought to extend its economic hold over the tribes through trade. This struggle was punctuated by inconclusive raids by one group of Europeans upon the strongholds of the other. The English gained all of Florida by treaty in 1763 only to lose it twenty years later as a result of Spanish action during the American Revolution. After that, the existence of the United States complicated the power struggle.

Wright's treatment of the two centuries preceeding the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739-1742), known in America as King George's War, seems superficial and it is evident that his principal interest is in the later period. He skims over the obscure but vital clashes of the seventeenth century and relies heavily on secondary sources and published documents, dispatching the first two and one half centuries in eighty-six pages. Wright also reveals his concentration on the late eighteenth century in his conceptual scheme. He divides the topic into two periods--1492-1763 and 1783-1821-with a "confusing twenty-year interval" between. One suspects that the extended early period conceals turning points and changes of policy as significant as those of the late eighteenth century.

Wright displays great familiarity with the literature on the disputed border regions but he lacks understanding of the Spanish Empire as a whole. His concentration on Spanish activity in a fringe area causes him occasionally to underrate the residual strength of Spain in the heartlands of Mexico and Peru. Many competent American historians have made this error, described by Herbert E. Bolton as "mistaking the tail for the dog, and then leaving the dog out of the picture."

This reviewer's principal criticism is directed not at Mr. Wright's knowledge of his subject but at his choice of topics. The story of Anglo-Spanish rivalry in Florida and Georgia has been told several times in the past half-century by Bolton, Verner Crane, John Tate Lanning and others. The author adds little that is new although he blends Spanish and English sources more skillfully than many historians. His most original contribution is his detailed knowledge of the middle ground of Alabama and Mississippi after 1783 where enterprising Englishmen and displaced Loyalists negotiated with Spain, England, and the United States simultaneously and even attempted to establish independent Indian states.

Mr. Wright has written a solid if unexciting history. Historians will deplore and the general reader will applaud the placing of footnotes at the end of the volume rather than at the bottom of the pages.

D. S. Chandler
Stephen F. Austin State University

The Empresario, Don Martin De Leon. By A.B.J. Hammett. Victoria (Victoria Daily News Publishing Co.), 1971. $6.95.

One of the great and glaring gaps in published Texas History is the sad lack of books about it's Empresarios.

To be sure, there is the great one by the late Dr. Eugene C. Barker, of the University of Texas, on Stephen F. Austin, who is so often referred to as "The Father of Texas". This is because he was the first one, the most successful one and cut the trail for many that were to follow.

But for the most part that courageous group of leaders, who had the foresight to see what the wilderness of this Mexican Province could become, and risked their fortunes (and often their lives) to make it happen, is still untold.

A.B.J. Hammett, a Business Leader, Banker and Investor of Victoria, has corrected that lack for the Mexican Empresario, who established and laid out Victoria, that thriving and beautiful South Texas city on the lower reaches of the Guadalupe River, the capitol of Martin De Leon's, "De Leon Colony," that was to be the site of so much significant Texas History.

No one person and his family has suffered more embittering injustice and maltreatment by other Texans than Don Martin De Leon and his children and relatives. Many of his direct descendants still live today in the town he founded, Guadalupe Victoria. They should welcome this book. For at long last, A.B.J. Hammett has written well the sad and tragic story of the mistreatment, robbery and exile of Don Martin De Leon and his family. The sad story of his son Don Fernando and his widow and other members of the family fleeing to Louisiana, for their personal safety. He has written the shameful story of their being robbed of their lands and their cattle, their herds of horses and fine imported European furniture in that ugly and chaotic time of blind bias and prejudice against anyone and anything Mexican by Americans in that period immediately after San Jacinto.

It is a well established historical fact, that the flag that flew over the Alamo when Travis and his men were beseiged there, had on it the figures 1824. The meaning being that these Texans (citizens of Mexico) were fighting for the constitution of 1824, and against the tyranny of Santa Anna. How ironic it is that Don Martin De Leon was a close and intimate friend of Guadalupe Victoria, the first President of Mexico under the constitution of 1824. Martin De Leon and his family were on the same side as the Texas heroes that paid the supreme and ultimate sacrifice at the Alamo, yet he and his family, who had contributed so much in that cause were villified and robbed as if they had been the defeated enemy.

A.B.J. Hammett has not been alone in trying to bring a belated justice and attention to the Mexican Nationals that aided the Texas Revolution. General Hobart Huson, the internationally famed lay historian of Refugio in a recent paper read before the South Texas Historical Society at Refugio, brings a late light to the contributions of those Texans he calls "Tejanos" to the Texas Revolution. It is high time it be known.

Mr. Hammett has worked closely from accepted and established local and regional histories of this area. To cite two, Victor Rose's, History of Victoria, which is basic and Mrs. Kate O'Connor's much later and most outstanding work, Presidio La Bahia, that tells us so very much about the Franciscan and Spanish Missions and Presidio system in this buffer province of Mexico.

But most happily, and the thing that makes the book truly unique, Mr. Hammett has been granted the full confidence of the De Leon family and complete access to all the De Leon papers, photographs, day books, diaries, journals, personal correspondence, etc. This treasure trove of prime material has never been used before in this way. It has enabled him to throw bright lights into areas that have so very long been shadowed. From this wealth of previously untouched material, he is able to reconstruct the daily life and the personalities of these early day pioneers of a frontier Colony. With the co-operation of Patricia De Leon, he has been given the color of verbal tradition, within this proud and closely knit family.

This reviewer, a long time collector and dealer in Texana and Southwestern Americana can state without fear of contradition, that nothing seems to disappear more rapidly than local and regional history. Nor escalate faster in value once they are gone. The purchase of multiple copies of either the regular or special edition of this book could prove a prime and lucrative investment.

The Publisher has chosen twenty-four well done illustrations to enrich the book and add visual interest. It is printed on the best of heavy book paper and has a top quality binding. A detailed index has been added that provides the reader with a quick ready reference to all proper names, places, subjects, etc.

Joe Petty, Jr.
Victoria, Texas

Missions of Old Texas. By James Wakefield Burke. New York (A. S. Barnes & Company),1971. Index, illus., maps. P. 179. $8.50

James Wakefield Burke has compiled descriptions of fifty Texas missions, some still standing, some in ruins, and others that were totally destroyed. The author offers a layman's history of the Franciscan missions and includes a background sketch of St. Francis, broad generalizations concerning Indian culture in Texas, the purpose for establishing missions and presidios, and the methods of constructing the religious compounds.

Burke panegyrizes the Franciscans, the only brotherhood that was willing to undergo the hardships in Texas in order to bring civilization and Christianity to the

fierce Apache, Comanche, and Karankawa Indians. Unfortunately, his accolades exaggerate the lasting impact of the friars on cultural institutions when he states that without the Franciscans the colonizers would not have been able to win Texas independence. In explaining that the padres taught the Indians how to govern themselves in a democratic manner and to respect property rights, the writer denies that any tribal culture existed prior to the coming of the Spaniards. In this traditional and antiquated interpretation, Burke fails to note that the mission system required total submission to paternal guidance, a defect that destroyed Indian self-sufficiency.

In an effort to incorporate all of the popular, romantic Texas legends, the author introduces Dr. James Long who indeed visited one mission, and his formidable wife, Jane, who did not. Nevertheless, the reader is exposed to the story of her adventures on Bolivar peninsula in 1821. The incredible chapter dealing with the fall of the Alamo and the fictionalized dialogue between Jim Bowie and "Bill" Travis at precisely 2:46 on the morning of March 6, 1836, should have been omitted entirely.

The volume is without footnotes and the bibliography offers the standard secondary works. Serious students will be disappointed with the book, but collectors of Texana may appreciate a compendium and travel guide to the missions.

Burke, a former Army Air Corps test pilot, also has served as public relations officer for the staff of the military governor of Germany, General Lucius D. Clay. He has written articles about the Nuremburg trials and the Berlin Wall for popular periodicals.

Margaret L. Henson
South Texas Junior College

Tragic Cavalier: Governor Manuel Salcedo of Texas, 1808-1813. By Felix D. Almaraz, Jr. Austin and London (University of Texas Press), 1971. Bibliography, Index, Pp. xii, 206. $7.00.

Manuel Maria de Salcedo was governor of Spanish Texas from November, 1808 until his assassination by temporarily successful insurgents in early April, 1813. Through Salcedo, Professor Almaraz has tried to present "a historical account of the Mexican independence movement in Texas as seen from the Spanish point of view." (p. x) Although illustrative of the problems facing a provincial administrator both in peacetime and crisis, this monograph is not altogether satisfactory in developing its theme.

Governor Salcedo (1776-1813), a *peninsular* member of a family involved in bureaucratic and military service, received his appointment as governor in 1807 and took office the following year. The young official's first two years in office were principally devoted to problems of administration present in the neglected frontier province before his arrival. The Hidalgo Revolt that began in central Mexico in September, 1810, however, created fears of insurrection which compounded the anxieties aroused by continuing tension over the Indian menace and illicit foreign immigration into East Texas. In his final three chapters, Almaraz presents the "Impact of the Hidalgo Revolt upon Hispanic Texas," "The Collapse of Salcedo's Rule," and "Hispanic Texas after Salcedo."

Tragic Cavalier provides a clear picture of the difficulties facing Salcedo–slow communications, inadequate financial support, a weak economy, conflicts with his superior, differences with ecclesiastical personnel, maintaining adequate supplies for defense and administration, and the nagging problem of dealing with foreigners in Spanish territory. For his evidence Almaraz has employed the resources available in the United States, relying heavily upon materials in the Bexar Archives at the University of Texas. Surprisingly, he did not utilize archival records in Spain or Mexico.

The position of Texas as a buffer against Anglo-American expansion made it mandatory that Almaraz emphasize frontier tension and conflict and he has shown clearly the defensive character of the province. Unfortunately, he has not provided as detailed or satisfactory an account of the reaction in Texas to the crisis that marked New Spain throughout most of Salcedo's governorship. Although mentioning the Hidalgo Revolt briefly many times, Almaraz has failed to develop the nature of the independence movement in Texas as it emerged as part of the wider upheavals in the empire. Questions of the exportability of the Hidalgo Revolt or the applicability of all or part of its message to Texas go untreated; the revolutionary social implications that contributed to the Revolt's failure receive no discussion as to their relevance in Texas. Although the author considers the collapse of royalism to have been inevitable, he does not show that the population at large or any specific group in it was ready to support a movement for an independent Texas or why it should have. Rather, his book leaves the impression that active indigenous support of independence was minimal during Salcedo's tenure and only the filibusterers pushing west from United States territory made possible the temporary dissolution of Spanish government.

Mark A. Burkholder
University of Missouri–St. Louis

Fayette Robinson. *Mexico and Her Military Chieftains, 1800-1847.* Glorieta, New Mexico (The Rio Grande Press), 1970. Index, illustrations, maps. P. 353. $12.00.

As the United States and Mexico took the first steps toward open hostilities more than 125 years ago, a young Virginian named Fayette Robinson was recuperating from an unspecified malady by traveling in the southern part of this hemisphere. To help pass the boring hours he began a study of the political turmoil which plagued much of the New World formerly held by Spain. When the approaching war between the United States and Mexico became more evident he abandoned the general study in favor of concentrating on an explanation of the "peculiar policy of Mexico and its men." The result was *Mexico and Her Military Chieftains, 1800-1847,* first published in 1851 and now reissued in 1970 by the Rio Grande Press.

Robinson's book is in no way a general history of Mexico in the first half of the nineteenth century. It is instead an attempt to explain what he described as the unintelligible political convulsions which shook Mexico from 1800 to 1847 and to do so by focusing on the men who led Mexico in these years. It is, therefore, a series of short, often inaccurate, sketches of Mexican leaders, most prominently Agustin de Iturbide, Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, and Lucas Alaman. With the exception of Iturbide, these individuals are treated with slightly concealed contempt by the young

North American. Mexico's first emperor is described as perhaps the only man who could have governed Mexico and prevented the national degeneration that followed his fall. But due to the ignorance and degradation of the Mexican people, or so the author maintains, Agustin de Iturbide did fall and the result was the rise of opportunists such as Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna. Like most North Americans then and now, Robinson is not quite sure how to deal with Santa Anna. He recognizes and praises his military abilities and his skill in surviving the political storms of the time, but concludes that only Mexico could have produced such an engaging and vital rogue and that Santa Anna alone could have prospered in the volatile atmosphere of early nineteenth century Mexico. The ambivalence which marks the author's observations of the "Hero of Mango Clavo" is certainly not evident in his treatment of Lucan Alaman, one of the most talented and thoughtful men of these years. Robinson finds nothing praiseworthy in the pro-English, anti-United States Alaman. What emerges is the picture of a malevolent schemer who preferred to carry through his machinations in great secrecy. Alaman is accused of everything from being a political assasin, which he probably was not, to the bitterest enemy of the United States in Mexico, which he probably was.

It is surely evident that Robinson was not an unbiased observer of the Mexican scene. He was, after all, a citizen of a country deep in the throes of Manifest Destiny and his writing reflects that condition. There are many blatant examples of his prejudices, none of which requires more than a cursory examination of the book: Miguel Hidalgo acted with "stern, dogged, almost Saxon perseverance"; Acapulco had a population "as industrious as any people with Spanish blood and education can expect to be"; and the author upholds the belief that beautiful countries are given to degraded races until a more worthy people are ready to occupy them, witness the Indians of North America and the people of Spanish descent in Mexico. It is, then, as a part of the literature of Manifest Destiny that Fayette Robinson's *Mexico and Her Military Cheiftains, 1800-1847* has real importance. It vividly presents the overbearing rightousness and arrogance of the United States in the 1840's far better than it presents a study of Mexican politics in the same era. This book should be of considerable value to students of United States expansion in the early nineteenth century, and they owe a debt of gratitude to the Rio Grande Press for making this excellently reproduced volume available at this time.

Douglas F. McMillan
Texas A & M University

Big Men Walked Here! The Story of Washington-on-the-Brazos. By Stanley Siegel. Austin and New York (The Pemberton Press), 1971. Illus. P. 103. $6.95.

This is a work of several contributors, although Stanley Siegel's name stands alone on the title page. Siegel provided the untitled Part One, covering the era of Anglo-American colonization and Revolution in Texas, weaving in the rise of Washington-on-the-Brazos; and Part Two, describing the oscillations of the Texas Republic's government among various capitals, twice at Washington-on-the-Brazos. Part Three, "Who Were These Men?", by Jim Ethridge, consists of sketches of signers of the Declaration of Independence. There is an unnumbered section of "Illustrations"; and an unnumbered chapter, "The Motivators", by Tom Whitehead, Sr., on efforts to commemorate a site at which the Texas Declaration of Independence was adopted and

the Constitution of 1836 was written.

The book's major strength is Siegel's informed and readable prose. Whitehead's chapter on the serious and repeated past neglect of Washington, with belated but praiseworthy and fruitful efforts to save and commemorate the site, is one with which many readers can empathize, since it is one, with variants, which would apply to many localities, though often without the same fortunate conclusion. The general layout, the artist's sketches (except Houston's), and the section of illustrations combine to produce a pleasing appearance.

In scope the book admittedly goes beyond Washington (p. 58), and becomes an item of Texas lore. This produces problems, notably ethnocentrism. The Mexican state of "Coahuila and Texas" is regularly referred to as "Texas-Coahuila". In pre-1836 Texas, Spanish is referred to as "an alien tongue". Considering that Spanish and various Indian tongues were spoken in Texas a good two centuries and more before English, and in Spanish settlements which significantly ante-dated Anglo ones, this seems a bit much, as does the description of the three Latin American signers of the Texas Delcaration of Independence as "Mexican nationals". Surely all of the signers either were, or were not, Mexican nationals.

On the tender topic of the cause(s) of the Revolution, Garrison and Siegel's (in his fine *Political History of the Texas Republic*) "contest of civilizations" thesis is invoked. Fair enough. But under this mantle of seeming impartiality, lists of Anglo grivances are piled up while passing in silence over, or occasionally glossing over, Mexican grievances and/or concessions, such as the Anglo-American lack of good faith in religious matters, and the Mexican waiving the prohibition against slavery for the slaveholding Anglos. The obvious impression is a clash of the forces of light and the forces of darkness.

With regard to Washington-on-the-Brazos itself, the book supplements and in some cases corrects the town's entry in the *Handbook of Texas*. But the book itself seems to be a form of the "boosterism" (p. 43) which Siegel saw in an early town father, for it omits virtually any unfavorable evidence, such as a description by an early traveller quoted by Siegel himself in his *Political History of the Texas Republic* (pp. 31-32). An explanation for this seems provided on the dedication page, where we are told the profits of the book go to improvements of the Washington-on-the-Brazos Park. But the book cannot be deemed to be a contribution to urban history, nor does it seem to do much more than synthesize what is already known about the era prior to annexation.

Moving from substance to form, the few footnote citations are extraordinary. The Pemberton Press appears to lack italics for titles, which appear within quotation marks. Usually part of their data is quoted verbatim without quotation marks, and part is paraphrased, leaving the reader in some puzzlement. A recurring infelicity of style concerns the word Republic, which is rarely used in the appropriate possessive or adjectival form, such as "Republic Congress", "Republic press", and "a Republic form of government".

Good popular history, and good local and regional history, are both needed; and it is a good thing to use a book to keep an historic site in mind. But local and regional history raise questions of orientation and focus. It is worth asking ourselves, as we dust off old court house records and like, whether parochialism serves the

interests either of history or of humanity.

John Osburn
Central State University, Oklahoma

My Eighty Years in Texas. By William Physick Zuber. Edited by Janis Boyle Mayfield. Notes and introduction by Llerena Friend. Austin (University of Texas Press), 1971. Appendices, bibliography, index. Pp. xvii, 285. $7.50.

At last, after reposing in the Texas State Archives for more than a half century, the significant portions of a manuscript containing the reminiscences of William Physick Zuber, an "Old-time Texian," have been published under the editorship of a grandniece, Janis Boyle Mayfield, with the able assistance of Dr. Llerna Friend, former Director of the Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center at The University of Texas. Dr. Friend has prepared the introduction, footnotes, bibliography, and a historiography of the Moses Rose story. While the Rose story is not a part of Zuber's *My Eighty Years in Texas,* it happens to be the main thing for which Zuber is remembered in Texas history, and, therefore, has been attached as Appendix A and the historiography of the story constitutes Appendix B. The story of Colonel William B. Travis drawing a line across the floor of the Alamo and of his (Rose's) own subsequent escape, allegedly told by Moses Rose in 1836 to Zuber's parents, was published in 1871 by Zuber and certified by his mother at age seventy-eight as "precisely the substance of what Rose stated to my husband and myself." Thus thirty-five years after the incident, and after so much had been written and published on the famous Battle of the Alamo, the story was first made known outside the Zuber family. The story can only be regarded as a product of the author's imagination; but it has become a Texas legend and C. W. Raines in his *Bibliography of Texas,* p. 224, concluded: "Credat Judaeus Apella, non ego."

Born in Georgia on July 6, 1820, William P. Zuber came to Texas with his parents after a sojourn of eight years in Alabama and Louisiana during which interval his father visited Texas in 1827, 1828, and 1829. In June 1830, the Zubers settled temporarily in the District of Aes, now San Augustine County; in 1831 the family settled in Harrisburg; a year later it was living in Brazoria County; and in 1833 they had moved to what is now Grimes County where William P. Zuber lived to 1873, when he settled in Robertson County near Hearne; later, he moved to Bremond, then to Owensville; and, finally, back to Grimes County, near Iola, for twelve years. In 1886 he and Mrs. Zuber sold their farm in Grimes County and lived with the children; and, ultimately, in 1906, after the death of Mrs. Zuber, William P. Zuber moved to Austin when his son-in-law moved to that city. From 1906 to 1913 he was the only surviving veteran of the Texas Revolution during which time he was employed as a guide in the Senate Chamber to point out to visitors pictures of Texas heroes and heroic events.

Two-thirds of the 240 pages of Zuber's recollections is devoted to the author's experiences in the Texas Revolution and in the Civil War, and cover a period of less than four years out of a life-span of seventy-three years. He says that soon after entering military service during the Revolution he commenced a diary in which he narrated "all that had occurred from the sixth of March" until about the time of the battle at San Jacinto when he accidentally spilled all of his ink; "But I preserved what

I had written in it. Moths destroyed that manuscript many years ago, but I had read it so often that the facts became fixed in my memory. I also kept a diary during every subsequent campaign on which I served." (p. 50) As a boy of fifteen years of age he left home against the will of his parents to fight in the Revolution, but found himself detailed to camp guard duty on the day of the battle of San Jacinto; so, in his recollections he produces Colonel Pedro Delgado's report of the battle, and gives the reader a description of the battlefield as it appeared to him (Zuber) when he visited it two days later. Zuber later participated in the campaigns against Vasquez and Woll, but because of illness withdrew from the frontier before the Somervell Expedition got-off to the Rio Grande. At the age of 42 he left his wife and children, against the strong objections of Mrs. Zuber, to participate in the Civil War on behalf of the South, but was never in any major engagement. Only once during his service in the Confederate Army did he shoot to kill, and even then apparently missed his target. He had a horror of killing a fellow man.

For twenty years after 1870 Zuber devoted considerable time to seeking pensions and land grants for Texas veterans, and as the veterans of San Jacinto became fewer in number, he came to be sought out and regarded more and more as an authority on the San Jacinto campaign of '36. After 1870 he wrote voluminously on events in early Texas history and collected data from the "old-timers" for biographical sketches of early Texans. Dr. Friend has included in her excellent bibliography a list of his published and unpublished writings. *My Eighty Years in Texas* provides some useful material and interesting descriptions of life among the early settlers–their hardships, sufferings, sicknesses, shortages, local customs, and the difficulties in educating children. Zuber gives the names of many individuals, including those of soldiers, and relates the experiences of a private in the Confederate Army. One will find here humor, legend, and anecdote. Zuper appears to have been a deeply religious man.

Any person using *My Eighty Years in Texas* must do so with caution, remembering that it was prepared by one after attaining the age of ninety, who used notes, letters, and reminiscent accounts of others, but who for much of what he wrote, relied heavily upon a memory that was becoming hazy and in the telling becoming somewhat on the "windy" side. A prolific writer, Zuber seems to have had a fertile imagination. Erroneous statements in the reminiscences are plentiful, but only a few of these, undetected by the editor, can be mentioned here. The Cherokees did not migrate to Texas in 1839 (p. 106); "Alto Miro" (p. 111, 113) should be "Alta Mira"; Adrian Woll did not capture San Antonio "about September 14" (p. 112), but on September 11; Alexander Somervell did not lead an expedition to a point opposite Mier (p. 115), and he did not return home leaving Major Peter Hansborough Bell in command of the Army on the Rio Grande (p. 115); those who served in the Vasquez Campaign of March 1842, were not paid under a law passed in 1862 (p. 112); J. G. W. Pearson (p. 109) is John Goodloe Warren Pierson; "coal flour" (p. 110, fn. 1) is "cold flour" (sometimes written "cole flour") and was a mixture of coarse corn meal parched brown, to which was usually added a small amount of sugar and was carried by volunteers or militiamen as a substitute for bread since that article could not be carried in sufficient quantity to last more than a day or so. "Cold flour" was eaten dry, or cold, or stirred with water to form a mush.

With this publication The University of Texas Press has added another title to its "Personal Narratives of the West Series," and has maintained the fine quality of craftsmanship for which it is noted.

J. Milton Nance
Texas A & M University

Ten Tall Texans. By Daniel James Kubiak. San Antonio (The Naylor Company), rev. ed. 1970. Pps. xx, 144. Illustrations, index. $5.95.

The biographical approach to Texas history is becoming fashionable. In *Ten Tall Texans,* the author seeks to promote Americanism and pride of state in young readers by telling them heroic tales of their state's pioneers. His purpose is plainly chauvinistic, and he writes with the inspiration of the truly dedicated. If identical efforts are brought to his public school political offices, he must be a wonderful public servant.

Ten Tall Texans offers some surprises. The expected cameobiographies of Houston, Austin, Milam, Crockett, Bowie, and Travis are, of course, there. But it is here that the secondary theme of the book emerges--the emphasis of the role of Latin Americans in Texas history. The careers of Lorenzo de Zavala, Jose Antonio Navarro, Juan N. Sequin, and (shades of ladies lib) Andrea Castanon Candelaria are thus cited. The book is illustrated in the familiar Naylor style with portrait drawings of the principal characters.

The biographies are successful in their stated purpose. The author makes generous use of myth and legend to underscore his point of Americanism. There are several errors of fact--and the truth is always better than legend--but on the whole *Ten Tall Texans* is a suitable addition to the public school library.

Archie P. McDonald
Stephen F. Austin
State University

The French Legation in Texas. By Nancy Nichols Barker. Austin (The Texas State Historical Association) 1971. Illus. P. 357. $12.

This book covers a span of four years of French diplomatic activity in Texas. Dealing with the period, 1838-1842, Volume 1 is aptly entitled, "Recognition, Rupture, and Reconciliation" and a second volume will complete this study. Although, as Professor Barker acknowledges, some of the correspondence printed here first appeared in George P. Garrison (ed.), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas* and much of the material covered has been dealt with in previous studies by Herbert Edwards and Mary Katherine Chase, still this is a valuable and highly readable book.

Following the United States, France was the first European nation to grant diplomatic recognition to the Republic of Texas. The decision was taken principally upon the advice of Alphonse Dubois de Saligny who was sent to Texas from the French Embassy at Washington to appraise the local situation. Believing that Texas offered a great potential in new markets for French products, particularly wines, and that French influence in the Republic might offset British activities in Mexico City, Saligny pressed for recognition which was granted in September, 1839. A commercial treaty soon followed though efforts to secure a five million dollar loan from French banking sources came to naught.

A contentious man, Saligny involved himself in a number of unseemly personal quarrels which did nothing to enhance the image of his nation in Texas. Stuffy and very much on his dignity, he had a low opinion of his British and American colleagues. Alcee La Branche, the first Charge' d' affaires from the United States, was, "stiff and formal" while Joseph Eve, also sent out from Washington, was described as a "typical Kentucky peasant." James S. Mayfield and David G. Burnet, Secretaries of State with whom Saligny frequently sparred, were portrayed in equally unflattering terms, while President Mirabeau B. Lamar came in for the most unyielding and bitter censure. Because of the French blood which distantly ran in Lamar's veins, Saligny seems to have expected more. On the other hand, he recognized and acknowledged Houston's talent for political leadership.

Wracked by ill health and seeking escape to New Orleans whenever he could, Saligny was nevertheless an astute observer of conditions in Texas. Political questions, such as the location of the permanent seat of government, the possibility of a lasting peace with Mexico, and the renewal of annexation negotiations in 1841, are fully discussed and reported. Internal politics, particularly the 1841 presidential contest between Houston and Burnet, also came under Saligny's close and mocking scrutiny. The rate of immigration, business and trade statistics, even the state of the arts in Texas were duly noted and reported to Saligny's superiors in the Foreign Office at Paris. If the principal task of a diplomat is to observe and report, Saligny performed his commission well.

Professor Barker's book was a delight to read. This reviewer looks forward with much anticipation to the concluding volume.

Stanley E. Siegel
University of Houston

Tall Men with Long Rifles. By James T. DeShields. San Antonio (The Naylor Company), 1971. Illustrations, index. P. 270. $7.95.

This is a reprint of the 1935 edition of the experiences of Creed Taylor, a veteran of the Texas War for Independence. The volume was prepared by DeShields after Taylor, a few years before his death, dictated his recollections of the events surrounding the Revolution.

Taylor died in 1906. It is unfortunate that DeShields did not relate when the interview took place and if the old veteran was among the last survivors of that memorable conflict. However, DeShields quotes extensively from Taylor giving the work a personal and sometimes touching flavor.

Taylor speaks his mind about personalities and attempts to correct the "errors" that have crept into the pages of Texas history. One must keep in mind that the interview with Taylor took place many years after the Revolution and that his opinions should be taken with interest and not as gospel truth.

To any person interested in the Texas Revolution, this work is helpful and the block drawings of Bob Wilson adds enhancement to the volume.

It is also somewhat disappointing that a photograph of Taylor, perhaps in his later years, could not have been included.

Maury Darst
Galveston College

Reconstruction To Reform: Texas Politics, 1876-1906. By Alwyn Barr. Austin (University of Texas Press), 1971. 315 pp. Bibliography, maps, illustrations, and index. $8.50.

In this scholarly study Alwyn Barr, associate professor of history at Texas Tech University, has ably described the personalities and issues of Texas politics in the thirty year period following Reconstruction. These were in many ways transitional years as Texas put aside some of the bitternesses and frustrations of Reconstruction and turned to solving the problems of an expanding society.

Professor Barr not only describes political activities on the state level but also attempts to link these with events on the national scene. His discoveries, while far from sensational, provide us with fresh insights into the period. He finds, for example, that the effort to regulate railroads, culminating in the creation of the Texas Railroad Commission during the Hogg administration, was supported not only by agrarian elements as has been traditionally believed but also by many merchants, shippers, and industrialists, and even some railroad men. Similarly, he argues "that the Texas Populists hardly fit the mold of backward-looking reactionaries, with antiforeign and anti-Semitic views, holding imaginary ills and offering no useful reforms as they have been pictured by some modern critics." Populist leaders were not exclusively farmers but included lawyers, businessmen, editors, teachers, skilled workers, ministers, and physicians. Suprisingly, only one-fifth had been Greenbackers and even fewer had been Republicans. About one-third of the Populist leaders had attended college.

The Texas Republican party was divided into two major factions: the "radical" wing led by ex-Governor Edmund J. Davis and the "conservative" wing led by A. J. Hamilton until his death in 1875. In the late 1880's the party apparently unified behind the leadership of Norris Wright Cuney, "the leading Negro Republican in Texas and the most powerful figure in the party." Factionalism broke out again in the late 19th century. This, combined with the poll tax, lack of Negro unity, and white opposition to Negro leadership, resulted in giving control of the party in Texas to the "Lily-white" faction in the early 20th century.

Barr argues convincingly that Colonel E. M. House, who emerged as "king-maker" in the state Democratic party at the turn of the century, has been miscast as a moderate progressive "since he supported the more conservative of the Democratic contenders for political offices, personally favored the gold standard, maintained strong business ties, and helped write watered-down Democratic state platforms that frequently avoided substance."

Reconstruction to Reform is a sound work which will serve as the standard political history for the period. The thirty page bibliography accompanying the text demonstrates the author's thorough investigation of primary and secondary sources.

Professor Barr is to be commended for his excellent work. It points to the need for other studies such as this (and Stanley Siegel's *Political History of the Texas Republic*)–especially for the Reconstruction period which precedes it.

Ralph A. Wooster
Lamar University

Larissa. By Fred H. Ford and J. L. Brown. Jacksonville, Texas (Kiely Printing Company), 1971. Illustrations. P. 184.

Larissa, by Dr. Fred Hugo Ford, D. D., of New Orleans, and J. L. Brown of Jacksonville, a collection of stories and facts assembled by the authors about the town of Larissa in Cherokee County and of the college by the same name established there in 1848, was first published by McFarland Publishing Company, of Jacksonville, in February 1951. This collection of stories and authentic records of the college was made at the request of Dr. S. L. Hornbeak, who was the president of Trinity University, Waxahachie, to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the university in 1915. As Dr. Ford relates in the preface, it is far from complete and does not pretend to be a detailed history of Old Larissa, the village, or of the college founded there in 1848.

It is commendable that a facsimile edition of *Larissa* is now available through the efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Wright Ebaugh, of Jacksonville, printed by Kiely Printing Company in 1971. Mrs. Ebaugh is the daughter of J. L. Brown, one of the authors. Mr. Brown was born in Arkansas in 1866 moving to Larissa at age 5 in 1871. His father, W.. A. Brown, and half brother, Lon Dixon, founded a business in Jacksonville known as Brown & Dixon. From this beginning J. L. Brown in 1895 went into business for himself founding the J. L. Brown Department Store which continues in Jacksonville.

Mr. Brown and his wife gave the land for Larissa Memorial Park adjacent to Love's Lookout State Park near Jacksonville in memory of the town of Larissa and Larissa College.

Thomas H. McKee, native of North Carolina, emigrated to Texas from middle Tennessee in 1846. His son, the Rev. T. N. McKee, a Presbyterian missionary, founded the town of Larissa naming it for an ancient Greek province. The first teacher in the college was Mrs. S. R. Erwin, educated in Lebanon, Tennessee, daughter of Thomas H. McKee. The school, organized in 1848 in a log house that stood on the outskirts of the village, was under the management of the Trinity Presbytery of The Cumberland Presbyterian Church. In 1855 the college was incorporated and chartered as a college under the direction of the Brazos Synod of the church. The college flourished until its last year, 1860-61, when 144 students were enrolled. The Civil War brought about the end of the college.

In 1866 by action of the Brazos Synod Larissa College was reduced to a private institution, but eventually was moved to Tehuacana Hills in September of 1869 where it continued for 33 years until it was moved to Waxahachie on September 9, 1902. Throughout the years of its history, first at Larissa, then at Tehuacana and at Waxahachie, Trinity University stood for the highest Christian ideals. It had high

scholastic rating being a charter member of the American College Association and one of the five accredited colleges and universities in Texas on the list of the American Council on Education. The author's conclusion regarding the school is that no institution in Texas has rendered a larger service for the state with the expenditure of less money.

The authors compiled through diligent research and personal correspondence records which are of great value to students of history and members of pioneer families in East Texas. There are records of the first Masonic Lodge organized in Larissa in 1852. Many incidents in the lives of early settlers make interesting reading as does the account of the Killough massacre on October 5, 1838 in which 18 white settlers were killed or carried away as captives by the Indians. There is also a story by an early settler relating the Battle of Kickapoo Creek in which Chief Boles of the Cherokee tribe was killed. Mr. Brown wrote to many friends throughout the area asking for their recollections of Larissa and the college and their accounts prove fascinating reading particularly in describing the physical properties of the college, the teachers and the course of study. There is a chapter on the founding of the town of Jacksonville and how is acquired its name.

Gene Lasseter (Mrs. E. H.)
Henderson, Texas

Texas is the Place for Me: The Autobiography of a German Immigrant Youth. By Carl Urbantke. Translated from the German by Ella Urbantke Fischer. Introduction and Index by Robert C. Cotner. Austin (The Pemberton Press), 1970. 109 pages. Illustrations, map, index. $5.95.

Historians justifiably have evidenced a continued interest in the problems faced by German speaking peoples immigrating into nineteenth-century Texas. The most significant of these studies began with Gilbert G. Benjamin's *The Germans in Texas: A Study of Immigration* (Philadelphia, 1909) and his pioneering attempt to reconcile the contracts of identity and assimilation. Later, Rudolph L. Biessele in *The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861* (Austin, 1930) provided an institutional examination of the early German colonies. More recently, Terry G. Jordan's, *German Seed in Texas: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas* (Austin, 1966) utilized the quantitative method to analyze the process of agricultural transition. By the nature of their approaches, these books tended to emphasize either the activities of the ethnic group as a whole, or specialized classes within that group.

Important German leaders of the early colonization and revolutionary periods recently have received scholarly attention in Irene M. King's, *John O. Meusebach: German Colonizer in Texas* (Austin, 1967) and through Archie P. McDonald's editing of *Hurrah for Texas -- The Diary of Adolphus Sterne, 1838-1851* (Waco, 1969). Yet relatively little has been preserved or published concerning the role of somewhat lesser, and later, Germans involved in the cataclysm of Texas immigration.

Thus the autobiography of Carl Urbantke, recounting the years from 1853 to 1902, helps to fill this void. In a simple, but direct, fashion he tells of the economic and political circumstances compelling immigration from his native Austria and of his

early years in Texas as a railroad construction worker and frontier farmer. Later there came a "call" to the ministry and a vivid account follows of his strenuous years spent as a "circuit rider." Eventually he was to conclude his career as an educator by founding Blinn Memorial College at Brenham.

As a pious and learned man, Urbantke naturally stresses his deep religious convictions. But there is much more in this modest volume of historical interest. His description of the economic problems of frontier farm life with its accompanying social forms is valuable. Further, his comments on the denominational factionalism of post-Civil War Texas churches should prove of particular interest to scholars.

In 1902, a few years after his retirement as president of Blinn College, Urbantke wrote his autobiography in his native tongue – *Aus Meinen Lebensfuehrungen.* After his death in 1912, his daughter, Ella Urbantke Fischer, subsequently translated it into English. Her daughter, Mrs. Laurina F. Matthews, later revised and modernized it into its published form. In addition, an introduction by Professor Robert C. Cotner of the University of Texas at Austin delineates the book's purpose and perspective. An index, map, and several interesting illustrations also contribute to its usefulnness.

John O. King
University of Houston

The End of the Cattle Trail. By J. L. Hill. Austin and New York (The Pemberton Press), 1969. Pp. xi & 120. Illustrations, index. $6.95.

When J. L. Hill's little book, based on his experiences as a drover in the 1880's, was printed in 1923 and re-printed in 1928, it was not a success. This third printing, with a new introduction by Jimmy M. Skaggs, deserves better luck, for Hill's book, in spite of its flaws, is a useful addition to the literature of the cattle industry.

Mr. Skaggs, in his introduction, writes that "probably less than 20 percent [of Hill's material] would stand the acid test of absolute accuracy." This is probably a fair estimate, since Hill was looking back thirty or forty years and sometimes was dealing with subjects he did not really know. Hill was also a man of limited education, and much of his writing was bad and the arrangement of his material was haphazard. Yet when he dealt with things he knew first-hand from his days on the cattle trails in Texas, Kansas, Montana, or the Bad Lands, he was convincing and even his writing improved in style and organization.

Many events and details stand out in the book. Descriptions of the round-up, the cutting horse ("cut horse," to use Hill's term), the handling of a trail herd, the cattlemen's association formed to deal with horse and cattle rustling–all make good reading. This reviewer especially liked the section on the Bad Lands. Hill's description of this fascinating region and the stories of famous men–Theodore Roosevelt, Frederick Remington, and the Marquis de Mores–that he met there. The best story concerns de Mores, a French nobleman who married New York heiress Medora von Hoffman (Hill spells it "Huffman"), built the town of Medor, North Dakota, and used a large chunk of his father-in-law's fortune to build an abattoir in the naive belief that he could compete with the established packing plants in Kansas City and Chicago.

Hill's prejudices were typical of the old-time cowmen. He did not like Indians, sheepmen, or homesteaders, particularly if the latter happened to be Kansas Jayhawkers, who "were worse than the Indians in the Indian Nations." Like another Western writer, Will James, Hill had little use for Englishmen who came out to "the Wild West of the United States of America." And like many Westerners down to the present day, he complained that cattlemen were "entitled to some consideration by the Government."

Mr. Skaggs' introduction is excellent. It contains concise information on the cattle trails, biographical facts on Hill, and a fair-minded appraisal of the book's weaknesses and merits. He has also done considerable historical detective work in order to document the information on Hill. The pictures in the book are well selected, but some are too blurred to be seen clearly, a fault that may go back to the original edition. In any case, the imperfections are part of the book's appeal. It is anything but a slick professional work. It is merely the earnest attempt of an ordinary man, J. L. Hill, to tell what he knew and what he had heard about a colorful chapter in the history of the West.

John Payne
Sam Houston State University

Mills of Yesteryear By A. T. Jackson. El Paso (Texas Western Press), 1971. Illustrations, bibliography. P. 103. $5.00.

A. T. Jackson's book deals with the construction and operation of water-, animal-, hand-, and wind-powered grist mills in Texas from prehistoric times to the present day. The author has divided his survey of Texas milling into chapters dealing with Indian grinding techniques, Spanish mills, various types of nineteenth-century mills, Mormon milling enterprises, problems faced by pioneer millers, and laws and litigation concerning mills and millers. The book is illustrated with a number of photographs showing mills in operation and the remains of mills, as well as two fine drawings explaining the workings of an undershot wheel and a turbine. Mr. Jackson has done an excellent job of collecting and bringing together information about this little-known Texas industry.

Unfortunately, the information is not well organized. The book never moves beyond a series of descriptions of various mills and stories about millers. No attempt is made to show the development of milling techniques in Texas or to discuss the introduction of new milling machinery and its effects upon the industry. Little is done to relate the mill and miller to the rest of the frontier society. No pattern of technological innovation, development, and obsolescence is shown. Even the simple chronological organization breaks down after the first two chapters and the reader is led back and forth from mill to mill over the better part of two centuries. Indeed, the title of the penultimate chapter, "Fragments of Mill History," might well serve the entire book. The confusion is compounded by the absence of an index.

The book has a second and more serious weakness. The author includes a large amount of undocumented material without distinguishing it as such. Some extreme examples of this fault are the discussion on page six of the alleged remarks uttered by the Indians upon first seeing the mill at San Jose in operation in 1730 and the

discussion on page twenty of William Goyens' encounter with his former master. A good deal of this apparent folklore probably came from the numerous newspaper stories and *Frontier Times* articles cited in the bibliography. The author also obtained much accurate and valuable information from interviews with retired millers, diaries, memoirs, and county histories. Tragically, there are no footnotes to help the reader distinguish the wheat from the chaff.

Mills of Yesteryear is a scrapbook of miller's tales, and, taken as such, will provide a good afternoon's reading. As a serious historical work worthy of publication by a University press, it is seriously flawed by the unprofessional approach by the author. But the subject is so fascinating and so needful of treatment that one cannot fault him too badly. Perhaps we can hope for a revised edition in the future.

Lonn Taylor
University of Texas
Winedale Properties

The Great American Pastime: Notes on Poker, the Game and the Players. By Allen Dowling. Introduction by Oliver P. Carriere. South Brunswick and New York (A. S. Barnes and Company; London: Thomas Yoseloff Ltd.), 1970. P. 239. Illustrations, index. $5.95.

A book on poker ought to be reviewed by a poker player, and this one is vetted by an old hand who knows the difference between good old draw poker and, for example, "Up in Mabel's Room" with one-eyed jacks wild.

One thing should be settled right away--Texans, no matter what they say, don't play at the great American pastime any better or any worse than do Illinois Suckers or Georgia Clayeaters or devotees raising the ante in some back room in any other section of the Union. And just because a player is a president or a king is no reason to hold that he is a superior player, unless, of course, one concedes that, in their professional life, presidents and kings are more experienced in bluffing than is the average, honest citizen.

Players and non-players will find something of interest somewhere in eighteen chapters whose subjects range from the habits of females at poker tables, through discussions of high and low stakes, river gambling, and commercial games, and on to stories and vignettes of famous persons. Texans may be interested in reading that Harry S. Truman was a "shrewd and cautious" player, that he played with John N. Garner, and that he once is alleged to have said that he enjoyed associating "with the kind of men who play poker." (p. 190-91). Texas oil moguls relished the game. Other national figures equally devoted to poker include, among others, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Douglas MacArthur, Ulysses S. Grant, and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Several sections of the volume seem particularly revealing. Certainly, Oliver P. Carrier's introduction, a crisp history of the game, should not be overlooked. Carrier's large library of poker sources was leaned upon heavily. The chapter narrating the history of *Poker Chips,* an American periodical devoted to the game and first published in June, 1896, arouses curiousity. What, indeed, was the fate of this journal after it changed its name to *The White Elephant?* It died, but why and when? And who really was its editor, "Frank Tousey"?

Of particular interest to this reviewer is the chapter dealing with poker and the law. In this are paraded, with some editorial comment, court cases involving the game. Packed with human interest, these tiffs at bench and bar offer fascinating insights. It is to be regretted that the author, when writing this section, did not discuss and describe state and local statutes and ordinances upon which cases rested. Yet no author can cover all aspects of every topic.

All in all, this is a pleasant book for casual reading–one that can be picked up and laid down and picked up again. One, particularly if one is sufficiently stirred to investigate further, is disappointed by the lack of citations to sources and a bibliography. A sort of a glossary of poker prose and poetry near the close of the volume says that the expression for a pigeon who likes fast action is "Come to play, not to stay." This rather adequately describes the book itself.

Philip D. Jordan
Burlington, Iowa

Negro Legislators of Texas and Their Descendants. By J. Mason Brewer. Foreword by Alwyn Barr. Introduction by Herbert P. Gambrell. Reprint Austin (Pemberton Press), 1970. Pp. xiv & 154. Index. $9.50.

This is not the subject matter which one associates with J. Mason Brewer, whose reputation as an outstanding folklorist has been long established. Therefore, one is somewhat reluctant to apply the critical standards of historical scholarship to this volume, the merits of which do not readily appear.

The reader should not ignore Professor Gambrell's introductory statement: "One will find here no special pleading or strained interpretations, but rather an honest appraisal of the role of the Negro legislators by a member of that race." It is neither an Uncle Tom nor a Black Republican who records the problems of the freedmen in attaining access to the ballot box, but his mature observations are sometimes obscured by biographical material on Texas Negro legislators and their descendants.

Negro experience as a voter, as a political candidate, and as a legislator appears to have been as diverse as that of white Texans in the generation following the Civil War. Sectionalism and the possibility of dividing the state influenced the decisions of Negro political figures, and they sometimes differed on other issues. Brewer's legislators do not emerge as dupes to white radicals nor as men deluded by their alleged power. They are pragmatists. "The Negro could not have been successful in getting elected to office and in holding office, if he himself had not been able to trade well."

Hopefully, the most meaningful result of the publication of this reprint will be that it will attract the attention of younger scholars to individual personalities who deserve critical biographical studies. G. T. Ruby, the Galveston senator, was one of the most remarkable young men in Texas during the Reconstruction period. Another powerful Galveston figure, N. W. Cuney, also deserves additional study, while R. L. Smith of Waco and Matt Gaines of Washington County surely merit biographies of article length.

The fourth title in the Negro Heritage Series of the Pemberton Press, this volume is a reprint of a 1935 publication. Additions include a few pages of introductory material by Professors Barr and Gambrell, and the author's brief sketches of four contemporary Texas Negro legislators. It is in a reprint pattern which has become all too familiar to students of Negro history in recent years. Had the interesting material in the original edition been further searched, assimilated, rewritten, and documented more extensively, a definitive study of the subject would have resulted.

Donald E. Everett
Trinity University

The Negro in Texas, 1874-1900. By Lawrence D. Rice. Baton Rouge (Louisiana State University Press), 1971. P. 309. $10.00.

Scholars seeking to explain the not too distant past of the black community are confronted with liabilities of the first magnitude. Invariably the researcher must base most of his study upon source material from white men's and not black men's records. Back files of most newspapers edited by blacks were lost following their failures. Lawrence D. Rice was able to find only "one copy of two of these papers" which had been published in Texas. Apparently few black Texans wrote diaries, kept ledger books, or engaged in the activities from which collections of personal papers emerge. Given the liabilities confronting him, Rice has produced a quality book.

For the historian his primary contribution involves Texas politics in the late 19th century because more than fifty per cent of *The Negro in Texas* deals directly with the black Texan and politics. Readers of these pages on politics should emerge with an understanding of both the black's role in Texas politics and the forces which brought about the effective removal of Afro-Texans from the political process. Among the chapters on politics are the following: Constitution Making, The Black Man's Party, Fusionism: The Unholy Alliance, Black Populism, Black Belt Politics, and The Cost of Freedom: Disfranchisement. Yet the chapters on politics leave the reader with the haunting feeling that he is not receiving a total picture of the black Texan. Black leaders are evident, but as is all to frequently true, the mental image of "the people" remains a blur.

In the non-political realm, *The Negro in Texas* contains chapters on black farmers, wage earners, criminals and those accused of criminal activity, education, and life in the black community. As compared to the chapters on politics, those dealing with other aspects of life are not as sound, undoubtably a result of inadequate source material. In an *absolute* sense the weakest chapter in the study was entitled Negro Life. If one contrasts Rice's chapter with its counterpart in a work such as Vernon Wharton's *The Negro in Mississippi,* however, Rice's is superior.

In reading *The Negro in Texas* one is impressed with the research and utilization of available materials by the author. The writing style is pleasant and the book provides enjoyable reading. Charts and tables would have enhanced the study. The professional historian will discover a quantity of information valuable to a better understanding of Texas and the South. Laymen from the white community will find the study of a useful tool if they seek a fuller realization of what and why their

ancestors engaged in certain behavioral patterns. For the Afro-Texan a more factual knowledge of his people's struggle can be gained from *The Negro in Texas.*

William J. Brophy
Stephen F. Austin State University

Maury Maverick: A Political Biography. By Richard B. Henderson. Austin (University of Texas Press), 1970. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. xxiii, 386. $8.50.

Twentieth century Texas politicians have often been predictable, cautious, conservative, and at times even boring. Maury Maverick was a notable exception. A member of a pioneer Texas family and native of San Antonio, Maverick followed an active political career which spanned approximately three decades, from the Depression to the early years of the Cold War. These were not years when policies identified with the liberal left were likely to yield success at the Texas polls, but the tempestuous, outspoken, sometimes inconsistent, and often profane Maury Maverick militantly took up the banner of most of the liberal causes of his day. Thus he became the central figure in Texas liberalism of the thirties and forties.

Depending primarily on the Maury Maverick papers in the University of Texas Archives (supported by newspapers, interviews, government documents, and a host of secondary sources), Professor Henderson has described Maverick's career in some detail. After a stint as an unorthodox student, Maverick was admitted to the bar a few months before sailing to France to serve in the trenches of World War I. Returning to San Antonio, he practiced law through the twenties and entered city politics near the end of the decade. In the thirties he served two terms in Congress, and after defeat in a bid for a third term, won a race for Mayor of San Antonio. At the conclusion of World War II, which he spent directing the Smaller War Plants Corporation, he returned to private life but retained an active interest in public affairs.

Throughout these years Maury Maverick carried on a program of progressive insurgency centered around a concern for civil liberties and sympathy for the unfortunate. He joined and served as an attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, an organization none too popular with many Texans of the day. He fought corporate monopoly and sponsored an early prototype or urban renewal. Although a pacifist in the thirties, he supported the country's involvement in World War II as a necessary defense of human liberty. A defender of the New Deal, Maverick differed from most Texas politicians in that he ranged somewhere to the left of Roosevelt. Never a "me too" man, he was sometimes at odds with the President. His articulate, forthright, and aggressive defense of unpopular causes brought criticism from the right and defeat at the polls, but neither seemed to deter the independent Texan.

Describing what Maverick did is a task infinitely easier than explaining why Maury Maverick was Maury Maverick. Professor Henderson suggests that a family environment of independent thought and action was the beginning. The horrors of World War I aroused compassion and humanitarianism, and a lifetime of reading and study and intellectual associations eroded the bindings of provincialism.

The author leaves some questions unresolved. Maverick's influence on and relationship with Roosevelt is never quite nailed down. Texas readers in particular would have been interested in a fuller explanation of Maverick's role in state Democratic politics; more analysis of San Antonio politics with its maze of ethnic groups would be helpful, particularly in view of today's preoccupation with ethnic history.

Perhaps a more extensive search of manuscript sources would have been of value. Many of the papers of Texas New Deal personalities are worthless assortments of trivia, but surely not all of them, and Maverick had associations with many other national figures.

In any event, Professor Henderson has produced a sound book. He writes clearly, organizes competently, and the editing is well done.

Adrian N. Anderson
Lamar State University

The Dallas Cowboys and the NFL. By Donald Chipman, Randolph Campbell, and Robert Calvert. Norman, Oklahoma (University of Oklahoma Press), 1970. Pp. 252. Illustrations, statistical appendix, index. $6.95.

The Dallas Cowboys have been the subject of several books, but none as scholarly and well researched as this one. Most books concerning professional football focus upon the action on the field, along with the personalities of players and coaches. This book digs below the surface and examines the complex business and financial dealings that are involved in organizing and managing a professional football team and operating a league.

This book represents both a business history of the Dallas Cowboy football club and an analysis of the growth and development of the National Football League itself. The struggle between the American Football League and the National Football League is covered, with a central focus upon the battle between the Dallas Texans and the Dallas Cowboys. The Cowboys' role in this rivalry and their key part in bringing about the merger of the two leagues is discussed in detail. The importance of television in the success of professional football is traced, and such technical matters as the draft, the moves, injured reserve list, taxi squad, waivers, sharing of TV revenues, blackouts, etc. are discussed.

The history of professional football in Dallas really started in 1952 when the old New York Yankees club became the Dallas Texans. The Texans folded before the season was over and eventually ended up in Baltimore. Clint Murchison, Jr., after attempting to buy the Texans, became determined to bring professional football back to Dallas. He began pressuring the NFL for expansion but the league fathers, finally enjoying a measure of prosperity, were reluctant to slice the pie too thinly. Eventually they gave in and Dallas was awarded a franchise. Lamar Hunt, another Dallasite, had also tried to obtain a franchise without success, and finally formed a new league to rival the NFL.

In building the Cowboy organization, Murchison's philosophy was to hire good

men and turn them loose to do their jobs. Tex Schramm was hired to be president and general manager, Tom Landry was picked as coach, and Gil Brandt was chosen to be chief scout and director of player personnel. Each was to have autonomy within his own province and they were assured of non-interference by Murchison. These men then developed a strategy for building a winner. A step by step analysis of their efforts is presented.

The authors discuss what they consider to be the key elements in the success of the Cowboy team. Among them are leadership, outstanding success in the college draft and the signing of free agents, management ability, initiative, and innovation. The financial growth of the team and the league is analyzed, and the impact of the team upon the Dallas community is discussed. One of the major impacts has been that of race relations, and Cowboy players have been in the forefront of the battle for racial equality and justice.

The book does not exclude the action on the field, and does an admirable job of explaining the multiple offense and the coordinated defense utilized by the Cowboys. It also digs into Tom Landry's personality and philosophy along with that of other key personnel. According to the authors, Landry believes in building a team through the draft rather than through trades, prefers finesse to brute force, likes to pick the best athlete available in the draft rather than fill a certain position, and remains analytical and professional in his approach rather than emotional.

Since the book was finished early in 1970, too soon to enjoy the NFL championships in the two following seasons and the Super Bowl win of January 16, 1972, the final part of the book is concerned with praise and criticism of the Cowboy system and why, according to critics, the Cowboys seemed unable to win the big one.

The book is a must for any loyal Cowboy follower—or for that matter, any student of professional football. The appendix is extremely valuable and includes a considerable volume of vital statistics on the Cowboys from 1960-69.

The future of the Dallas Cowboy organization and team is contemplated in the last chapter. For loyal Cowboy followers with high expectations, the last chapter is appropriately titled, "The 1970's: Decade of the Cowboys".

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